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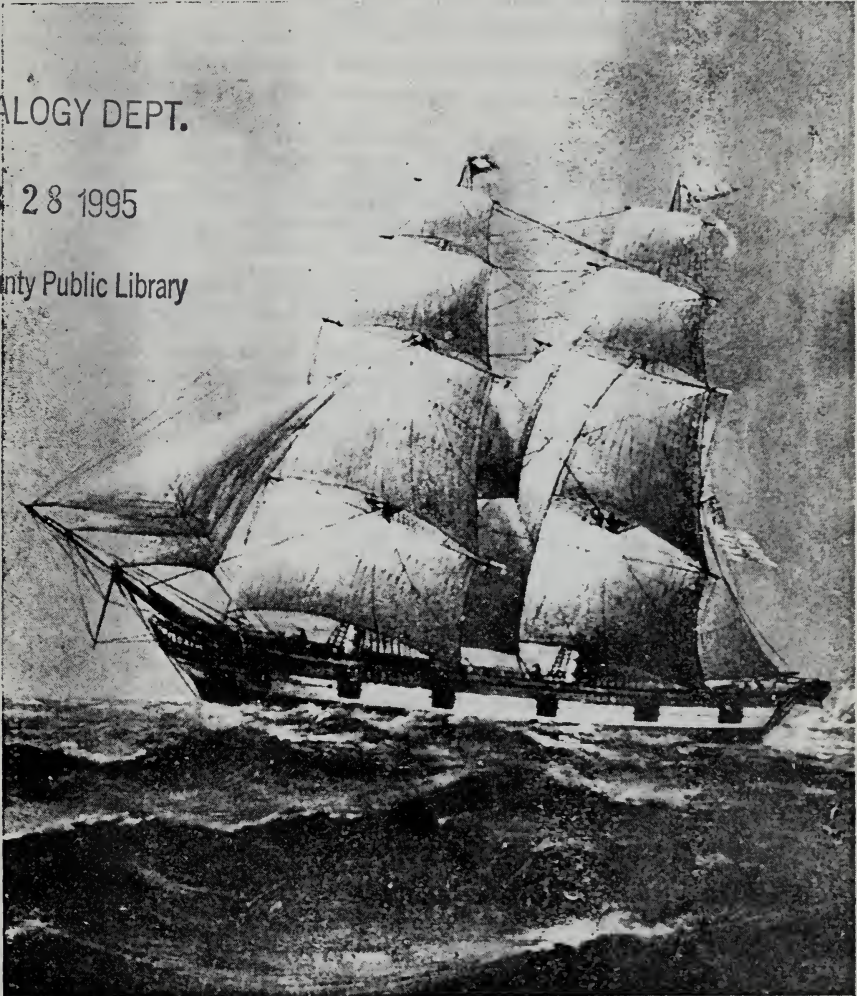
*Historical Society of Southern California*

# QUARTERLY

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THE PILGRIM

(See "Dana and the Perennial Questions" page 17)

**T**HE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for three-quarters of a century. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

*The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:*

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

*This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.*

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**THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA**  
1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California  
Telephone REpublic 4-2823



The  
Historical Society of Southern California

# QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLI

March, 1959

NUMBER 1

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# The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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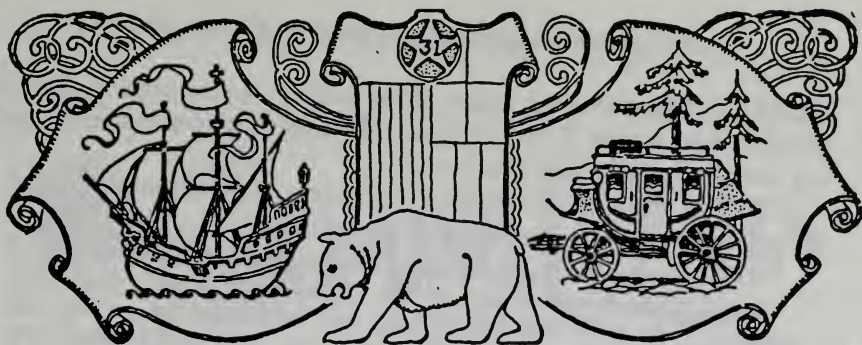
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*The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY for March, 1959

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## Frank A. Miller *Theater Manager*

*By* Ralph Freud

**T**HE BRILLIANT CAREER OF Frank Augustus Miller as founder and host of the famed Mission Inn and civic leader of Riverside is well recorded. Little, however, has been written about his very intimate association with the American theater at the turn of the century. Zona Gale, in her biography of Miller, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, published in 1938, mentioned only briefly Miller's activity in the theater:

Builder of the Loring Opera House, a theater which for fifteen years he managed. In that time many stage people, later to become stars, he secured for Riverside. Joseph Jefferson, Modjeska, Sarah Bernhardt, Mansfield, Sol Smith Russell, John Drew, Otis Skinner, Julia Marlowe, E. H. Sothorn, May Robson, Janushek, Lillian Russell were brought to the little frontier town by this manager who had something of the glorified showman in himself. He had an instinct for the dramatic. When Modjeska was to be at his theater and he wanted a Polish flag none could be found so the Mission Inn family made a Polish flag and at the conclusion of the performance he wrapped it about the actress who was moved to tears. Every newspaper in California carried the charming Riverside story.

Today the theater in Riverside, built by Frank Miller and a group of associates in 1889, is still standing. Under the name of the Golden Gate it is devoted to the showing of motion pictures. Its

record of almost seventy years of devotion to some kind of theatrical presentation marks it as being one of the oldest continuously operating theater buildings in California.

At the time of the theater's opening, in January of 1890, the *Riverside Daily Press* commented as follows:

The theater is the most elegant in Southern California and is equalled on this coast only by the California Theater in San Francisco. The walls and ceiling have been tastefully frescoed in soft and delicate tints . . . the scenery is elegant and complete in every department . . . includes an asbestos fireproof drop curtain which is the only one in this state outside of San Francisco . . . The chairs with which the building is seated are of the most approved style.

The start of the new theater in what was then a community of about 5,000 was announced in letters of invitation sent to a number of citizens;

You are respectfully invited to be present at the auction sale of seats for Wednesday, January 1, 1890, the opening night of the Loring Opera House, to be held in the Loring Block, corner of Main and Seventh streets. Sale to begin at 8 p.m. sharp, Saturday, December 21, 1889. Please present this at the door.

Apparently the scheduled opening of the theater was postponed until January 8, 1890, when Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* was presented. This was a community amateur production especially prepared for the opening of the new theater. The professional opening occurred on January 28 when "Charles Arnold, and his London Company of Comedians" presented "Clay M. Greene's Idyllic Comedy *Hans, The Boatman*, an Idyll of the Adirondacs."

From the time of its opening, the Loring Opera House (renamed the Loring Theater in 1919) brought to Riverside a varied theater fare, first under Miller's management and then under the guidance of others who frequently turned to Miller for advice. In addition to the stars visiting the Loring mentioned by Zona Gale, one notes in the programs available such leading theatrical personages as Henry Miller, Nance O'Neill, Frederick Warde, Louis James, Willie Collier, Nat C. Goodwin (who owned a ranch in nearby San Jacinto), Wilton Lackaye, James O'Neill (the father of Eugene), Mary Mannering, Margaret Illington, David Warfield, Dustin Farnum, William Faversham, William H. Crane, Ruth St. Denis and many others.

Perhaps one of the greatest thrills a theater historian can experience is the discovery of the records of actors playing small parts who later gained fame in the entertainment field. The Loring programs provide many such. Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., played a small role in *The Duke's Jester* at the Loring in 1900. In that year, too,



Frank A. Miller, Theater Manager



— Photo Courtesy: Riverside Public Library

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a sporting editor ..... Harry Conlon  
DON RODRIGO LOPEZ, a Portuguese nobleman ..... Billy Fleumen  
SQUIRE JABEZ FIELDING, Postmaster of Boon-  
ville ..... Claude Donley  
SILAS CAW, Candidate for Sheriff ..... Charles Bailey  
JACKSON JONES, a man of action ..... C. R. Clipper  
SADIE FIELDING, in love with the editor ..... Rose Simmens  
KITTIE CARLETON, the editor's unwelcome ward  
..... Helen Hargreaves  
MADGE MORRISON, with a breach of promise suit  
..... Nellie Henley  
DORA FIELDING, Sadie's sister ..... Kittie Healey  
MRS. CAW, with a grievance ..... Louise Mered  
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RIVERSIDE BAZAAR COMPANY Elgin St., Evans Bldg.

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a vaudeville bill was presented in April and among the acts supporting the "star" attraction, *Papinto*, was W. C. Fields listed as "The Wonderful Eccentric Juggler, Direct from the Folies Bergere, Paris." It is amusing to reflect that Fairbanks and Fields could not have suspected then that their fame and fortune would be gained on a stretch of farmland seventy miles from the Loring, later to be known as Hollywood.

It has been indicated here that the theatrical diet at the Loring was a varied one. At least twenty Shakespearean presentations have been noted in the records of the fifteen years of Miller's management, together with productions of Schiller and Sudermann. A presentation of Isben's *Ghosts* at the Loring in 1905 must have been a relatively early production of the work of the Norwegian dramatist in America. This feast of the classics, however, was balanced by the presentation of many minor theatrical offerings. Minstrel shows; Hermann, the magician; and a host of Irish and Swedish dialect plays were standard attractions. Miller treated the audience of Riverside to such novelties, too, as in June of 1890, "Wonderful Invention, Edison's Improved Phonograph, the Street Talking Machine." Presentations of particular appeal to the child audience were common and often offered aspiring local junior thespians an opportunity to appear in small roles or as "supernumeraries." Thus *Titania*, or *The Butterflies' Carnival* enlisted the talents of some one hundred local performers in 1900.

Throughout the early records of the Loring the strong personality of Miller asserts itself. When the Iroquois Theater in Chicago burned with a loss of five hundred lives, in December of 1903, a wave of concern about the safety of theater buildings swept the nation and many were closed. Miller was prompt in making a public statement of some length describing in detail the safety features of the Loring and promising even further safeguards against fire, such as a bridge from the balcony of the theater to the roof of the fire station conveniently located next door. Miller's personality is also reflected in many program notes printed over his signature such as:

While we dote on babies, the dear little things, they are much better off in the nursery than at the theater where people have paid to attend other than a baby show.

Certainly the Loring is not only a monument to the memory of a vigorous and imaginative civic leader of Southern California but a reminder, also, of a day when the best, and sometimes the welcome mediocre, in the American theater found its way to the hearts of the small town audience.

# Zona Gale's Acquaintance with Francis Grierson

By Harold P. Simonson

**T**HE SECOND TO LAST BOOK Zona Gale (Breese) wrote before her death in December, 1938, was *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, published earlier the same year. After Frank A. Miller's death in 1935, she wished to do a story of him and of his celebrated Inn at Riverside, California, which she had first visited in 1927. Important to her was the fact that Frank Miller himself had been born in Wisconsin, not far from her own town of Portage, and that his hotel through the years had become a widely-known, literary "Alhambra" of the Pacific Coast,<sup>1</sup> attracting such guests as Hamlin Garland, Edwin Markham, John Burroughs, Lyman Abbott, Jacob Riis, Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, John Muir, and Andrew Carnegie.

When Miss Gale first visited the Inn, it was then far more than a hotel. Begun in 1877 and heavily under-written by Henry Huntington,<sup>2</sup> it later became rather a shrine to California's Hispanic past. With its high bell-towers, arched cloisters with flagged floors, low-beamed roofs, and spacious central patio, the Inn closely followed the lines of the old Spanish missions. Indeed, when wandering in its Spanish patio, amid bougainvillea, orange trees, and palms, guests could easily imagine themselves in an old mission garden. Inside the Inn there was furniture made to suit the ideas of Miller and his wife who ransacked the East, Europe, and Mexico for *objets d'art* and handicraft that would add to the atmosphere of their enterprise.<sup>3</sup> All these features of the Inn interested Zona Gale immensely, and she wrote of them with nostalgia in her book on Miller. One episode of this visit, however, she failed to include in the book and in subsequent writing, an omission accounting for her biographer's failure to mention it.<sup>4</sup> This side-light was her acquaintance with Francis Grierson.

Grierson's career as cosmopolite, musician, occultist, and writer was at an end when he and Miss Gale met in Los Angeles in March,



1927. Two months later he was dead. His reputation in American literary circles had never equaled hers; nonetheless, his career had been extraordinary, first as a piano improvisator in the United States and then in Europe, hobnobbing with royalty and literary peerage in the courts and salons of its major capitals. Napoleon III and Alexander II of Russia were among the renowned who listened with excitement to this young musician and raconteur, still in his twenties. Later, encouraged by Stéphane Mallarmé, Maurice Maeterlinck, and others, he seriously devoted his efforts to literature, publishing between 1889 and 1913 eight volumes of essays in a style said by Van Wyck Brooks to be "airy in their fragile charm, often evanescent, [expressive of] an intuitive mind of exceptional refinement."<sup>5</sup> During these years he wrote his chief work, *The Valley of Shadows* (1909), depicting semi-fictionally his childhood in Sangamon County, Illinois, during the 1850's when he learned first-hand about the Underground Railway, the Midwest camp meetings, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and the aura of tension preceding the "irrepressible conflict."<sup>6</sup> Finally, in 1920, Grierson moved to Los Angeles where his interest in spiritualism, earlier aroused through friendships with Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott of the Theosophical movement, led to his last published work, an erratic piece called *Psycho-Phone Messages* (1921).

Soon after Zona Gale arrived at the Mission Inn she learned of the remarkable career and musicianship of Francis Grierson who had played in the Inn's cloister music-room on previous occasions. Anxious to meet the aged gentleman (Grierson was 79), she informed him by letter that she intended to be in Los Angeles soon, concluding, "I hope that I may include an hour when you will play for me."<sup>7</sup> Grierson's immediate reply of cordiality was answered by Miss Gale in a letter to Grierson's long-time amanuensis, Lawrence Waldemar Tonner. She indicated that on March 5 he and Tonner could expect a visit from her and a Mrs. Cochrane, "who, above all people needs a shaft of music in her life."<sup>8</sup>

A word needs to be said about Grierson's music. Even as an adolescent he displayed unusual talent as a singer and pianist, but his reputation as an improvisator came when he made his first appearance in Paris in 1869. There, in a salon on the Rue Monsieur, he played so lyrically that one guest in the group, Samuel David, exclaimed, "C'est extraordinaire!"<sup>9</sup> Other salon groups invited him, and at each performance his playing excited increased attention.<sup>10</sup> In the 1920's, after Grierson had settled in Los Angeles, handbills announcing his local concerts hailed him as one who, back in 1869,



had become the musical celebrity of Paris. There is evidence to support this claim. He was chosen by Leon Castinelle, the French composer of sacred music, to sing the leading parts in his Mass composed in honor of the Emperor's birthday, March 25, 1870, and performed in the Cathedral of Notre Dame.<sup>11</sup> On other occasions throughout Europe he played before the King and Queen of Prussia, the royal families of Hungary, Italy, and Denmark. At Baden Baden he hobnobbed with Europe's most illustrious opera stars including Hortense Schneider. As Van Wyck Brooks puts it, he resembled those musicians of mysterious origin in James Huneker's *Melomanics* (1902) who wandered through Europe playing in the old historic salons.<sup>12</sup>

Because none of Grierson's music was ever written corroboration of his abilities must come through the testimony of his listeners. Numerous accounts are available; one may suffice. The English publisher, John Lane, heard Grierson one evening in London and his reaction was typical. Grierson had been playing on and on; the twilight had been deepening. Finally, in the gloom, for not so much as a candle had been lit, he improvised on the sinking of the *Titanic*. The treatment of the tragic theme was so overwhelmingly impressive and it had such a profound effect upon Lane, that the publisher could not throw it off and postponed his departure for America, although he had arranged to sail the very next day.<sup>13</sup>

To Grierson, interested in psychical phenomena, music was the medium to supra-conscious experience. An intransigent foe of positivism, relativism, and determinism — of all isms denying the power of the invisible and the reality of absolute spirit — Grierson, by means of musical seances, sought to lead others to transcendental perception. It is not surprising that he attracted Frank Miller, Master of Mission Inn, whose motto for years had been, "The world's greatest need is a sense of the intangible."<sup>14</sup> Nor is it surprising that Zona Gale later wrote to Grierson that she "value[d] the memory of the little visit," and that his playing was, indeed, "memorable."<sup>15</sup> As in Grierson's writings, a similar awe of the mystical pervades Miss Gale's, especially the important critical essays published in 1929 entitled *Portage, Wisconsin and Other Essays*. Even while she supported the *avant garde* in literary realism with its emphasis upon the sociological and the scientific, a liberalism not shared by Grierson, she repeatedly asserted the reality of the More Than.<sup>16</sup>

Though brief, Zona Gale's visit with Grierson impressed her deeply. The intellectual rapprochement led to more personal in-

volvement. Distressed to learn from Frank Miller, after her return to Portage, that Grierson, because of physical infirmity, would be unable to appear at the Mission Inn for Easter, she warmly solicited his acceptance of Miller's invitation.

I am deeply disappointed that Mr. Miller writes me you are not to be at Riverside for Easter. He wrote 'Can you not back up my invitation in a way that will induce them [Grierson and Tonner] to accept?' That service, as you know, is very wonderful. You would be Mr. Miller's personal guests, would drive up the mountain at Sunrise in their car and would have the day there . . . There are several good pianos at the Inn and they were looking forward to just the little group of the family hearing you play.<sup>17</sup>

Upon learning from Miller that Grierson's old-age infirmities were accompanied by financial impoverishment, she had her suspicions confirmed regarding his need. Five days before his death on May 29, she sent him one hundred dollars, and, upon hearing from Miller of his death, she sent a long and poignant letter of condolence to Tonner in which she mentioned "the movement of inner forces" prompting her on May 24 to send the money.<sup>18</sup> "From the day that I spent the hour with you and Mr. Grierson," she wrote, "I had the impulse to see if I could in any way make things easier." She further wrote, regarding this uncanny experience of May 24, "I sat down to write and to send fifty dollars. As clear as a voice the word came: 'One Hundred', and I wrote it so." Earlier she had written to friends in Los Angeles encouraging their arranging a dinner or a benefit to honor Grierson as well as to raise money for him. This affair, most significantly and ironically, was to be realized.

Undeniably, Grierson was financially needy. He had hoped to interest a publisher in a poetry anthology he had compiled, but he enjoyed no more success in this venture than in his final one to publish his memoirs. The Assistance League of Southern California gave some help just prior to his death, but it was insufficient to dissuade him, a few days before his death, from pawning a gold watch given him by Edward VII.

The benefit dinner suggested by Miss Gale was held, and it was at this same affair, on the evening of May 29, 1927, that Grierson died. Tonner described his death in this way:

It was Sunday evening, May twenty-ninth. We had a number of people invited for a musical recital at our home — about thirty. A collection was to be taken up. Mr. Grierson had played a number of his marvelous instantaneous compositions on the piano and had given the company a talk on his experiences and impressions of France and Italy.

He turned to the instrument and announced that the next and last

## *Zona Gale's Acquaintance with Francis Grierson*

piece of the evening would be an Oriental improvisation, Egyptian in character.

The piece was long, and when it seemed to be finished he sat perfectly still as if resting after the ordeal of this tremendous composition. He often did that, but it lasted too long and I went up to him — he was gone!

His head was only slightly bent forward, as usual in playing, and his hands rested on the keys of the last chord he had touched.

There had not been the slightest warning. He had seemed in usual health (he always had some indigestion), he had eaten well to gain strength for the evening, and he had been smiling and laughing with the company even a few moments before he passed away.<sup>19</sup>

The quiet drama of Grierson's death terminated the short but affecting association between him and Zona Gale, who, by arranging for the evening recital, had a part in that drama even from a distance as far away as Portage, Wisconsin. Beset by this fact, she wrote to Tonner again.<sup>20</sup> "I am still thinking every day of my own part in this." Then, in a statement echoing many Grierson had made about mental phenomena, she concluded, "The strange part was my own release in time to synchronize to the very day with his going — as if something had now been worked out and fully paid, or ended."

### NOTES

1. Franklin Walker, *A Literary History of Southern California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950), 238.
2. Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York, 1938), 48.
3. For further description of the Mission Inn see Aubrey Drury, *California, An Intimate Guide*, rev. ed. (New York, 1947), 121-122, and George Wharton James, *California, Romantic and Beautiful* (Boston, 1914), 256-258.
4. August Derleth, *Still Small Voice* (New York, 1940).
5. Van Wyck Brooks, *The Confident Years 1885-1915* (New York, 1952), 270. Grierson's volumes of essays written during this period include: *Essays and Pen-Pictures* (Paris, 1889), *Pensées et Essais* (Paris, 1889), *Modern Mysticism* (London, 1899), *The Celtic Temperament* (London, 1901), *Parisian Portraits* (London, 1910), *La vie et les Hommes* (London, 1911), *The Humor of the Underman* (London, 1911), and *The Invincible Alliance* (London, 1913).
6. Theodore Spencer, in his Introduction to the fifth edition, called the book a "minor classic" in American literature; Bernard DeVoto, in his Editor's Note, referred to it as an unquestioned classic. Cf. *The Valley of Shadows*, 5th ed. (Boston, 1948), ix, xviii. For a full exegesis see Harold P. Simonson, "Francis Grierson: A Biographical and Critical Study," unpublished doctoral dissertation (Northwestern University, 1958), ch. vii.
7. Zona Gale to Mr. Grierson, February 23, 1927 (Harold P. Simonson, hereafter cited as H.P.S.).
8. Zona Gale to Mr. Tonner, February 28, 1927 (H.P.S.).
9. Francis Grierson, "My Début in Paris," *Century*, XC (October, 1915), 952.
10. Grierson's playing in the salons of Mme. de Valois, the Marquise de Ricard, the Countess Luigi de Sievers, and the Marquis du Planty are described in: "My Début in Paris," *ibid.*; "Stéphane Mallarmé," *Poetry, A Magazine of Verse* (April-September, 1913), 104-107; "Pen Pictures of Persons and Places," *The Golden Era*, XXXVI (December, 1887), 695-700.



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11. Lawrence Waldemar Tonner, *The Genius of Francis Grierson* (Los Angeles, 1927), 3.
12. Brooks, *The Confident Years*, 268-269. Among numerous visits, two deserve special attention: Grierson's playing for Francois Auber and for Alexandre Dumas. He relates the first in "My Visit to Auber," *English Review*, XVIII (September, 1914), 185-186; the second is dramatically told by Guy Endore in his historical novel about Dumas called *King of Paris* (New York, 1956), 85-87.
13. J. Lewis May, *John Lane and the Nineties* (London, 1936), 240.
14. Zona Gale, *Frank Miller*, 83-84.
15. Zona Gale to Mr. Grierson, April 8, 1927 (H.S.P.).
16. Zona Gale, "Period Realism," *The Yale Review*, XXIII (September, 1933), 111-124.
17. Zona Gale to Mr. Grierson, April 8, 1927 (H.P.S.).
18. Zona Gale to Mr. Tonner, June 7, 1927 (H.P.S.).
19. *Boston Ideas* (October 1, 1927), 11.
20. Zona Gale to Mr. Tonner, June 15, 1927 (H.P.S.).



# Dana and the Perennial Questions

By J. N. Sokolich

**I**N MEMORY OF RICHARD HENRY DANA, JR., who described the area in his narrative *Two Years Before the Mast*, a coast survey team in 1884 gave the name "Dana" to a triangulation point on a promontory located about half way between Los Angeles and San Diego. As a result the promontory and a considerable area behind it, which was then referred to as San Juan, is now known as Dana Point. Today many people who have read Dana's narrative and either live in or have visited Dana Point find that he recorded some observations that are inconsistent with the present locale. This article will investigate these inconsistencies and attempt to explain them.

This is not the first time a treatment of this subject has been published, however. A similar article by Walter Cline entitled "Dana at the Point" appeared in the June, 1950, issue of this *Quarterly*. Understandably, then, one might ask, "why another?" The answer is that this author disagrees with some of Cline's conclusions and feels that, although commendably thorough in pointing out the inconsistencies, he treated the matter too subjectively. This article will offer a more objective approach and some different conclusions.

Taking Dana's observations in spatial order, we first become concerned with where the hide ships anchored. Dana recorded two visits to San Juan, once aboard the *Pilgrim* and once aboard the *Alert*. The *Pilgrim*, he says, "came to anchor in twenty fathoms' water," and the *Alert* "came to anchor nearly three miles from shore." What first provokes a question is the fact that the anchorages lack common terms of identification — the *Pilgrim's* anchorage is described by water depth but the *Alert's* by her distance from shore. If we investigate these anchorages by referring to a soundings chart of the area (United States Coast and Geodetic Survey chart number 5101), we find that if the *Pilgrim* anchored in twenty fathoms' water, she must have been approximately one mile from shore; however, we also find that if the *Alert* anchored three miles

from shore, she did so in 250 fathoms of water; and here is where the difficulty arises. Two hundred and fifty fathoms is a highly improbable depth for the *Alert* to have anchored in. For those who do not understand why, a few statistics may help.

Two hundred and fifty fathoms is nearly a third of a mile. Now, along with the fact that this is an enormous length, one must also realize that an anchor chain must have what is known as "scope" or "sweep"; that is, it must be longer than the depth of the water. Knight's *Modern Seamanship* states that when anchoring, "it is a common rule under ordinary circumstances to use a length of chain equal to 5 to 7 times the depth of the water." This means that the *Alert* would have had to put out an anchor chain about one and a half miles long; and this much chain of a size necessary to anchor her (approximately  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch) would weigh about thirty thousand pounds — twenty thousand pounds more than its own tensile strength. No, to think that the *Alert* anchored in water 250 fathoms deep is simply out of the question.

Cline suggested that three miles offshore the water was not as deep then as it is now. This is very doubtful because in order to have been twenty fathoms one hundred years ago, the bottom would have been deepening at a rate of more than thirteen feet per year to a total of 1,380 feet; and since this is no minor geodetic change, it certainly would appear on soundings charts of the area. Therefore, it seems safe to conclude that the depth then was not significantly different from what it is now.

Since the *Alert* could not, then, have anchored three miles offshore, it seems that the only other possibility is that she anchored about one or, at most, two miles from shore and that Dana simply overestimated the distance. But even this conclusion is not entirely free from question. We must realize that Dana was not necessarily estimating the *Alert's* distance from shore, but that since it was the beginning of the southeaster season, the *Alert* was obliged to anchor three miles offshore. Early in his narrative Dana explains that because between the months of November and April the southeast winds (southeasters) spring up at a moment's notice and drive many ships aground, "it is highly dangerous to lie near in to the shore"; and, consequently, "vessels are obliged, during these months, to lie at anchor at a distance of three miles from shore."

It seems that we now have on our hands a dilemma; on the one hand we prove that the *Alert* could not have anchored three miles from shore, and on the other hand we say she was obliged

## *Dana and the Perennial Questions*

to. We can resolve this dilemma, though, if we are willing to be flexible enough in our reading of the soundings chart and our interpretation of the meaning of "from shore." The mean shoreline in the area of San Juan runs in a southeasterly direction, and three miles from shore, or perpendicular to the mean shoreline, the depth is 250 fathoms. However, if we look at the cove in which the *Alert's* boats landed, we find that it faces southeast, or down the coast slightly, and that three miles from shore with respect to the face of the cove the water is approximately twenty fathoms deep; an ideal anchoring depth and in complete agreement with Dana's description.

The probable solution to the question of where the hide ships anchored is that they anchored from shore slightly down the coast and not perpendicular to the mean shoreline.

We have used a particular cove to settle the question of where the hide ships anchored. But since there are two coves, about a quarter of a mile apart — a small one to the east, now used by lobster fishermen, and a larger one to the west, generally assumed to be the one in which Dana landed — we are now faced with the question of which cove Dana was referring to when he said,

Just where we landed was a small cove, or bight, which gave us, at high tide, a few square feet of sand-beach between the sea and the bottom of the hill.

Since Dana describes the cove as "small," we might be justified in assuming that he was referring to the smaller of the two coves. However, the fact that lobster fishermen who now use the smaller cove have had to clear a channel through its shallow, rocky bottom in order to use it safely would lend weight to an argument in favor of the larger cove. Historical evidence also favors the larger one. About eighteen years before Dana was born, the larger cove was described by Fray Junípero Serra as

... a protective cove in the season when the ships arrive . . . by reason of a high promontory, extending far out and forming a bay which the sailors have named San Juan Capistrano Bay (*Life of Fray Junípero Serra* by Francisco Palóu).

Serra's mention of the promontory describes the larger cove, because the small one is definitely not formed by a "high promontory, extending far out." More evidence that would seem to indicate that the larger cove was the likely landing spot is the fact that on December 14, 1818, Hypolite Bouchard landed in this cove during his attempt to convince the Californians that they should "throw off



their allegiance to Spain and join the insurgents of Argentina" (*San Juan Capistrano Mission* by Zephyrin Engelhardt).

A monument commemorating the landing of Bouchard now stands on the cliff overlooking the larger cove; and it stands, coincidentally, in probably an ideal location for a marker showing the spot from which the hides Dana speaks of were thrown. This conveniently brings us to the next question: where *were* the hides thrown from? Probably the only reason that there is a question about this is that some people — especially those who have not read Dana's narrative — prefer the romantic delusion that the hides were thrown from the outer face of the promontory, where massive rocks abound and the surf breaks dazzlingly upon them, instead of the duller but more logical site of the cliffs immediately above the landing place of the boats.

George Gladden, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, visited Dana Point in 1914. He made an inspection of the area and concluded that

... it becomes evident . . . from a careful reading of his book, and from such an examination of the surroundings as I have made, that the hides were not pitched from the edge of San Juan Point . . . and that the spot from which they were thrown was some distance east of the point (*Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1916).

To confirm his theory, Gladden wrote to Dana's son (also Richard Henry), who, with his cousin, a civil engineer, had investigated the area prior to Gladden. Dana's son agreed with Gladden's theory and marked on a photograph the little sand beach in back of the larger cove as the spot where he thought his father had thrown the hides.

The cliffs that back the cove are themselves evidence that it was from them that the hides were thrown rather than from those at the outer face of the promontory. The cliffs that back the cove are composed of layers of sandstone separated by strata of conglomerate. Erosion, having little or no effect on the conglomerate, eats away the sandstone and leaves the conglomerate protruding in shelves that overhang the beach below. Presumably, it was between two of these shelves that the hides lodged and thus caused Dana to have to free them by lowering himself over the cliff with a pair of halyards, for notice how well his description agrees with these cliffs:

I descended until I came to a place which shelved in, and in which the hides were lodged [the space between two strata of conglomerate] . . . Just below this place, the precipice projected again



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[a lower stratum], and going over the projection, I could see nothing below me but the sea, and the rocks upon which it broke.

Unfortunately, not all of Dana's observations agree with the locale. One such observation is revealed in his description of the height of the cliffs we have just been discussing. While, apparently, still aboard the *Pilgrim*, Dana records the cliffs as being "twice as high as our royal masthead." Later, when on shore, he states, "Directly before us, rose the perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet." A United States Geological Survey chart (Dana Point Quadrangle) reveals that there is no cliff in the entire area that is more than 200 feet high.

As discrepant as his statement that the cliffs were four or five hundred feet high is, there still remains an element of intrigue — for in saying that the cliffs were "twice as high as the royal masthead," he was surprisingly accurate. *American Ship Models and How to Build Them*, by V. R. Grimwood, gives a formula for computing the length of the masts on early sailing vessels; and from this formula we find that the *Pilgrim's* royal masthead was about 106 feet high, which if doubled would only be about twelve feet more than the actual height of the cliffs.

Cline offers an interesting possibility. He thinks that perhaps Dana measured the cliff with the two halyards with which he lowered himself. We might challenge Cline's theory by asking, "if Dana actually measured the cliff, how could he have possibly arrived at the figure of four hundred feet?" One answer would be that he could have mistakenly thought the halyards to be topgallant studdingsail halyards — for this is how he refers to them, and he could have known their approximate length — when actually, since he did not get them from the ship himself, he was using much shorter halyards.

There is also the likelihood that Dana made no attempt to actually measure the cliff, but was merely estimating; and since heights are usually much more impressive than they actually are, he could have simply overestimated.

Regardless of the reasons we may contrive for Dana's error in describing the cliff as four hundred feet high, it remains an error; and we must therefore consider the more engrossing question, "why did he not discover the error when he used two descriptions that were contradictory?" Surely Dana knew that four hundred feet was much more than twice the height of the ship's masthead — this we can assume, if not from the obvious pride he took

in knowing his ship, from the fact that in one of the narrative's later chapters, he gives the figure of ninety feet for the height of a topgallant yard. A plausible explanation would be to assume that since Dana made each observation at a different time, they were not close enough together in his notes for him, while actively engaged in seamanship, to discover the error, so that the discrepancy was not obvious when he wrote the narrative some four years later.

Our next concern is with Dana's description of the location of the mission San Juan Capistrano. He wrote his first account of San Juan while sailing by from San Pedro to San Diego. At this time he records seeing two missions

... looking like blicks of white plaster, shining in the distance, one of which, situated on the top of a high hill, was San Juan Capistrano.

Notice that he describes the mission as "situated on the top of a high hill." About a month and a half later, during his first time ashore at San Juan, he sees the

... small white mission of San Juan Capistrano, with a few Indian huts about it, standing in a small hollow, about a mile from where we were.

An error in observation could probably be accounted for by his possibly seeing an Indian hut, or something of the kind, on top of a hill during his first account and simply mistaking it for the mission; but since he later notes that the mission is "standing in a small hollow," why does he include the former description in his narrative?

As in the previous question concerning the height of the cliffs, it would seem that, again, Dana has included a pair of contradictory statements in his narrative. But when we consider two things — his use of the term "hill" and his perspective — we realize that he has not done so. In many other of Dana's references to the cliffs, he refers to them as the "hill." When he first described the mission as "situated on top of a high hill," he was at sea in the *Pilgrim* and his perspective was such that the mission, as seen up the mouth of San Juan Creek, might have appeared to be on top of the cliffs, or, to him, the "hill." Then when about a month later he stood on the terrain overlooking the mission, his perspective was such that the mission appeared to be in a "small hollow." And since Dana's narrative is given in chronological order, there is no reason why he should have excluded a previous observation merely because the difference in perspective gave a different picture. The difficulty stems from his use of the word "hill," which we take



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to mean "a small mountain or knoll" instead of "a steeply ascending bank or bluff."

While still on the subject of Dana's observations of the mission, we can find yet another question. With the first reading of the description of the mission as standing in a small hollow, one might easily conclude, and apparently some have, that Dana made this observation while standing at the cliff's edge. The reason that this becomes questionable is that from no point on the cliff's edge can the mission be seen. Notice, though, that Dana does not specifically say "from the cliff's edge." He says, "from where we were." He then goes on in the following sentence, "Reaching the brow of the hill . . ." This would indicate that Dana had actually not yet reached the cliff's edge when he saw the mission.

Cline's theory is that Dana in his spare time strolled to the terrace overlooking the mouth of San Juan Creek and from here saw the mission. Now although this is conceivable, we must realize that the particular description was part of a spatial-order account of Dana's trip on a circuitous path from the beach at the base of the cliff to the top of the cliff. To agree with Cline's theory one would have to believe that Dana fabricated the account, at least in part. And Dana seemed too conscientious a writer to have done this. If Dana had seen the mission in his spare time, it is quite likely that he would have said so.

The idea of seeing the mission from the terrace is a good one, though, and if the trail that led to the top of the cliff went across the terrace, or even near it, it might very well have been the spot. There is another location, however, that is at least worth mentioning. About one half mile or more north of the cliffs, and roughly paralleling them, is a high ridge that blocks the view of the mission from the cliffs' edge. From almost any point along this ridge, the mission can be seen as "standing in a small hollow." Now, Dana stated that the mission was about a mile from where he was standing; yet any point on the cliff's edge or the terrace is at least three miles from the mission. Apparently Dana underestimated the distance; but if it *was* from the ridge that he saw the mission, he would at least have been closer, and the error would be more acceptable. At any rate, the fact that the view from this ridge matches Dana's description and the feasibility of its being on or near the trail to the top of the cliff makes it another possible site from which Dana saw the mission — which now leaves us with two possibilities; and, doubtless, a sound argument could be waged in favor of either one. The point to keep in mind, though, is that



the controversy arose from the misconception that Dana said he saw the mission from the cliffs' edge when actually, by careful reading, we see that this is not so.

We now come to the final question — and it, unfortunately, is similar to the one concerned with Dana's describing the cliffs as four hundred feet high. After reaching the top of the cliffs, Dana noted that "the country stretched out for miles as far as the eye could reach, on a level, table surface." To anyone familiar with the area, the question is obvious: why does Dana describe the terrain as a "level, table surface" when actually it is quite hilly? Here we can do nothing but speculate, for it is too glaring a discrepancy to reason with. The only answer seems to be to assume that in reviewing his notes, while writing the narrative, Dana confused a description of some other terrain with that of San Juan.

Seven major discrepancies have been discussed and, where possible, explained. Let us review the conclusions as a probable enactment of Dana's visits to San Juan.

Dana first saw San Juan when he passed by at sea on board the *Pilgrim*, bound from San Pedro to San Diego. At this time he saw the mission San Juan Capistrano, which, from his perspective, appeared to be on top of the cliffs. About a month later he returned on board the same ship, which this time stopped to collect hides from the mission. The *Pilgrim* anchored southeast of the large cove, about a mile out, and in water twenty fathoms deep. Dana looked at the cliffs and estimated them to be about twice as high as the ship's masthead. To pick up the hides, the *Pilgrim's* small boats were sent ashore; and they landed on the small sand beach inside the large cove, for this was the most sheltered beach in the area. Since the hides had to be thrown down to this beach from the top of the cliffs immediately behind it, it was necessary to send a few men to the top to do the throwing; Dana was one of these men. He followed a circuitous path, and from some point along it he had a new perspective of the mission, which until now he had only seen from the sea — he now saw it as sitting in a small hollow. He then proceeded to the edge of the cliff and began throwing down the hides to the beach, which he erroneously estimated as being four to five hundred feet below.

About six months later he returned aboard the ship *Alert*. The season now, however, was such that winds from the southeast often began blowing at a moment's notice and threatened to drive ships aground if they were too close in. The *Alert*, therefore, had

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to take the precaution of anchoring southeast of the cove, at a distance of about three miles, and in water twenty to thirty fathoms deep. Dana came ashore as before and was again sent to the top of the cliff to throw down the hides. This time, however, some of the hides lodged in recesses in the cliff, and to free them Dana had to lower himself down the cliff by two halyards which he may have mistakenly thought to be a total of four hundred feet long, thereby falsely affirming his previous estimate of the cliff's height as four to five hundred feet. Four years later, when Dana wrote his narrative, he confused the notes of some other area with those of the San Juan terrain; and, thus, described the terrain of San Juan as "a level, table surface."

None of the conclusions given in this article are proposed as the "final word." Some of them are supported by good evidence while others are at best speculative. The primary purpose has been to offer some new conclusions to the "perennial" questions about Dana's observations of San Juan and to refute some of the "popular" beliefs such as that the hides were thrown from the outer face of the promontory. Though the truth is hard to come by, "vulgar errors" at least can be corrected.

# Southern Vineyards

THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE  
WINE INDUSTRY IN THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF  
LOS ANGELES, 1831-1870

*By* Cleve E. Kindall

N DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES there is a brief, rather colorless street bearing the French name of Vignes, which means simply, vines. The area around this street was once dotted by thousands of grape vines and "vignes" could well have described the area, but the precise derivation of the street name was the surname of the proprietor of one of the great vineyards, Jean Louis Vignes.

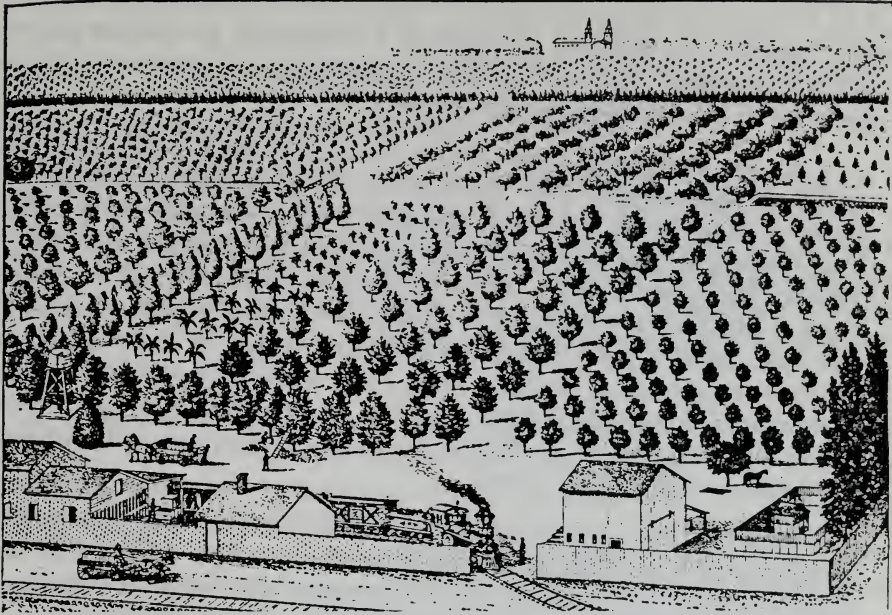
The Frenchman lived in Los Angeles during the 1800's, and gave to all of California a unique gift of great social and economic importance. He, as a personality, has been forgotten. His gift has long since ceased to be identified with his name. There is little to remind us of the past existence of this Frenchman, Jean Louis Vignes — only, perhaps, that one brief street.

To appreciate what this individual accomplished, one must first understand the City's early economic and social situation. It is important to realize that, as a child Los Angeles lived in a very unpromising environment. The City's location, roughly twenty-four miles inland, was not conducive to the development of commerce and trade. Her climate and geography when combined with certain social realities which will be investigated, made small, diversified agriculture a difficult and risky proposition.

The primary roadblock to the development of social order was the presence of a proud and turbulent California aristocracy who controlled the land. This class of men, largely the product of Spanish New World expansion and Mexican nationalism, was naturally opposed to any alien forces that might threaten their way of life. The backbone to that way of life, and the basis for the economic existence of Los Angeles, was the thousands upon thousands of cattle that grazed over the Southern California basin. The hides and tallow derived from these cattle represented the area's only trading item up into the 1840's.



## Southern Vineyards



—Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles

### EARLY LOS ANGELES VINEYARD AND ORCHARD

*One of the first and also one of the largest vineyards of early Los Angeles was founded and operated by William Wolfskill.*

It is interesting to note that in the history of North America's westward movement, cattle raising never significantly aided in the stabilization of social and economic forces. The story was no different in Southern California. On the contrary, the cattle and land barons of this locale displayed an even more sharply defined individualism than was usually the case. That characteristic was also marked by strong hedonistic tendencies. Representing as they did the ruling order, their influence helped to shape the social character of the local population.

This impact of the cattle economy on the area is partially revealed in the population figures of the 1836 Mexican census, which included the entire Los Angeles District. While these figures are probably unreliable in the specific, they do give a general picture of the area's relatively unstable society. At that time the population is reported to have numbered but 2,228 people. Of that number 553 were indians, while some fifty, not including the Spaniards, were foreigners. Out of this total only 421 were women, and of the 250 townswomen, fifteen listed their occupation as *mala vida*.<sup>1</sup> The

Los Angeles pictured here gives little promise of reaching maturity, yet, beneath the surface, permanent foundations for future growth were being laid. One of the most outstanding of these was the beginning of a commercial wine industry.

As we look back from today upon the city's position in the 1830's, it may appear that the fruit of the vine was one of the few products that could have met the area's requirements for survival. For one thing, the threat of crop destruction by cattle did not endanger the vine because it could produce a large yield of grapes from a small area and for this reason the cost of a protective fence was not prohibitive. Another important factor is that the vines, which are capable of sending their roots into the earth to depths of forty feet and more in search of water, were established early. Any vine cutting could be grafted onto the stocks and would be producing grapes within a few years.

However, in spite of the fact that this product seems peculiarly suited for the conditions which prevailed in Los Angeles at that time, it would be incorrect for us to assume that what is obvious today must have been equally as obvious then. Such was not the case, for commercial use of this product did not take place because it was the logical result of the environment. That the possibilities of such a development were recognized and acted upon and thus became a reality, can be attributed to one man, Jean Louis Vignes. Through his efforts Los Angeles was to see its first commercial development.

For the purpose of this paper the most significant character possessed by this man, the one that made all else possible, is indicated in a quotation from the California historian, William H. Davis, a contemporary and friend of Vignes.

(Jean Vignes)... was one of the most valuable men who ever came to California, and the father of the wine industry here. He had an intelligent appreciation of the extent and importance of this interest in the future.<sup>2</sup>

Davis is one of the few who recognized this "intelligent appreciation" which Vignes possessed and exploited for the benefit of California. Others have largely ignored his efforts or arbitrarily restricted them to premature experiments in horticulture. The reason for this neglect is not hard to find. The violence of this changing era caught the imagination of the historical writer to such an extent that Vignes, and those like him, were buried beneath thousands of words dealing, romantically and realistically, with the activities of revolution, politics, gold, crime, war, and cattle. Vignes did not directly influence any of these elements in California history. He did not



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even make known which political faction he favored. Behind the adobe walls of his ranch, the member of many differing political factions enjoyed his wine and respected his neutrality. The quality of the man and his hospitality was enough for them, and these were known far beyond the boundaries of California.

But the genial host and avid horticulturist were bound up in the same man who gave Los Angeles one of her first saw mills, labored to produce her first quality wine, and envisioned the possibilities of coastal trade with the North. Although Davis recognized this, he did not fully appreciate the critical role which the results of Vignes' efforts accomplished when they rose to meet the economic needs of Los Angeles.

We know very little of the background that helped shape this Frenchman. However, with the bits of information which are available, it is possible to make some assumptions. He is reported to have been raised in the town of Cadillac, France, where he was born in 1779.<sup>3</sup> This community is within the famous wine district of Bordeaux. Since Vignes was accomplished in both wine distilling and coopering, it would be reasonable to assume that his family was connected with wine making. In 1827 the family became involved in difficulties, but whether the nature of these were political or economic it is not known.<sup>4</sup> It was because of these difficulties, however, that Vignes was forced to leave his family home to seek his livelihood in Hawaii.<sup>5</sup> For a time he was employed by a trading firm, but the company, unable to maintain itself, went bankrupt, leaving the Frenchman with a number of religious statuettes and medals as payment for his services.<sup>6</sup> With these in his possession he arrived in Monterey, California, in 1831, and, with a dispatch that does credit to his salesmanship, he had soon sold them all.<sup>7</sup>

Later in the same year he arrived at the small *pueblo* of Los Angeles and, returning to his early trade, began making wine barrels for those land owners whose holdings surrounded the little community. Nostalgia for his native soil must have crept into the thoughts of this wandering Frenchman at that time. Once again he was surrounded by the gnarled stocks and broad leaves of the grape vine, thriving in a climate similar to that of his native Bordeaux. There, within Los Angeles, more than 100,000 vines of the Mission variety were cultivated.<sup>8</sup>

The Mission vine, so-called from its origin and use, was purported to have been first cultivated in America by Father Juan Ugarte in 1697.<sup>9</sup> From his vineyard in Baja California, the vines



passed to the hands of the mission Fathers and were spread northward along the *Camino Real*. From Mission San Diego in 1770 to San Francisco de Solano in 1823, vineyards accompanied Christianity, step by step, as each new link in the mission chain emerged, for the wine from these was destined primarily for the altar.

In Los Angeles these vines were cultivated by many not connected with the mission administration, and the grape juice was used to make *aguardiente*, or brandy, for local consumption. Some wine was made as well, but since these people had only limited knowledge of the processes necessary for good wine, the quality of their product was poor. As further deterrent to a satisfactory result, the Mission vines produced a grape better suited to the table as fresh fruit. When crushed for wine, it lacked the delicacy and fruitiness of taste associated with quality vintage.<sup>10</sup> These reasons, however, were secondary to the fact that the population at this time was not conscious of the need for a commercial wine product. Their thoughts and actions were directed toward, and by, the basic factor in the economy at that time — cattle.

In 1831 some 76,000 head of Mexican bred cattle roamed over the flat basin of land in which Los Angeles was located.<sup>11</sup> These cattle were allowed to shift for themselves, and, as a result, were largely bone and muscle. Since there was little demand for beef, no attempt was made to improve the herds. From time to time a rodeo was held to round up the stock, and large numbers of them were slaughtered for their hides and tallow. These two products were the city's trading items and represented almost all of her business activity. William Davis estimates that over 62,500,000 pounds of tallow were shipped from the area in the years between 1826 and 1848.<sup>12</sup> In the first half of the nineteenth century, he has placed the number of hides shipped from Los Angeles at a minimum of five million.<sup>13</sup> Money was so scarce in the area that the hide became the common bartering item, and was often referred to as the "California banknote."<sup>14</sup> This situation was essentially unchanged up to the time of the gold rush.

These were the economic conditions that Jean Vignes faced during his early days in Los Angeles. His experience and background turned him away from any connection with the city's only major business, cattle, and led him towards the vine. He was able to recognize the shortcomings of the local vineyards, and, at the same time, realize the possibilities that the area represented. The soil and climate, he knew, could support an industry and produce wines comparable to Europe's best. He is quoted as declaring that the area was

## Southern Vineyards

"just the place to grow them [oranges and grape vines] to perfection."<sup>15</sup>

This, then, was the purpose and the vision Vignes had before him when he purchased, in 1831, one hundred and four acres of Los Angeles land.<sup>16</sup> The new ranch, *El Aliso*, and its owner were quickly accepted by the local population, who respectfully referred to the Frenchman as Don Aliso.

He moved immediately to meet the technical and environmental requirements for quality wine. Recognizing the drawbacks of the Mission grape, he turned to his native land for a more suitable variety. From Bordeaux came cuttings of the *Sauvignon Blanc* and the *Cabernet* vines, which were grafted into the stocks of the Mission vines already growing on his land.<sup>17</sup> His faith in their adaptability to this new environment proved sound and Vignes became the first to import successfully a foreign variety of grape vine to California.<sup>18</sup>

Once these cuttings began to bear, the production of quality wine depended on Vignes' knowledge of the intricate processing. His first vintage is said to have been in 1837.<sup>19</sup> By the year 1839, he had 40,000 vines upon his land and wine aging in the cool recesses of his cellars.<sup>20</sup> Did these efforts produce the quality which he felt possible? We can only take the word of his contemporaries, and of these, William Davis and J. J. Warner were both historians and men of recognized good taste. The first, in reporting a well known incident in California history (the apology delivered by Commodore Thomas ap Gatesby Jones of the U.S. Navy to Governor Manuel Micheltorena for the impulsive capture of Monterey, in 1842), states that Vignes "delighted" the Commodore and his officers as well as the Governor at a social meeting with "wine eight or ten years old and of fine quality."<sup>21</sup> On another occasion, William Davis mentioned that Vignes' "choice old wine could be drank with impunity. It had an agreeable, exhilarating and strengthening effect, but no unpleasant after consequences."<sup>22</sup> Don Warner's tribute to Don Aliso's wine making skill is almost too magniloquent. "Vignes," he wrote, "could produce from his cellars a brand perhaps unexcelled through the world."<sup>23</sup>

From these quotations it becomes apparent that Jean Vignes had succeeded in his first purpose — to produce fine wine from the soil of Los Angeles. This was not the end, but the beginning of Vignes' hopes. With a good wine he could begin to develop a successful wine trade. In 1840 he began to search for markets to the



North. So it was that the aged wines of *El Aliso* found their way to the communities of Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco.<sup>24</sup> By 1842 he was making regular shipments to these towns, where he received four dollars per gallon for his brandy and two dollars per gallon for his wine.<sup>25</sup> In little more than ten years he had realized all of his earlier visions and became the proprietor of the largest commercial vineyard in California as well.<sup>26</sup>

The importance of this growing industry and the establishment of trade with the North are obvious. There is, however, even another service which Vignes made to California. In a number of letters to his relatives in France, he wrote of his enthusiasm for the potentials inherent in this new land. He asked his relatives and "intelligent countrymen" to leave France and join him in the development of California.<sup>27</sup> We cannot be certain of the exact number of these Frenchmen who, caught by the enthusiasm of Jean Vignes, came to California, but it is known that some did and that the efforts of that number were important to the growth of the state.<sup>28</sup> Men such as the Sainsevains, nephews of Vignes', and Victor Prudhomme, who aided in developing the Cucamonga area, came — to the betterment of the country.<sup>29</sup>

After twenty-four years of this labor of love, the respected Don sold his entire holdings to his nephews, Pierre and Jean Sainsevain, for forty-two thousand dollars, the largest real estate transaction in Los Angeles to that date.<sup>30</sup> When the Sainsevain Brothers took over *El Aliso*, it was the most extensive vineyard in California, with 40,000 vines, 32,000 of them bearing, capable of producing 1,000 barrels of wine annually.<sup>31</sup>

At the time of the sale of *El Aliso* in 1855, Los Angeles had established her supremacy in quality wine production and was steadily developing her wine trade with the North. What Vignes had begun almost single-handedly was now moving ahead through the work of many. His successes, and the increased demand for wine, which was created by the flow of gold hunters into the State, attracted new personalities into the growing industry. Some of these new figures, such as William Wolfskill and Kohler and Frohling, had been producing wine prior to the gold rush days.

Wolfskill, an ex-trapper, had settled in Los Angeles about the same time that Vignes did. Both men were interested in wine but Wolfskill centered his attention on experimentation with oranges and entered into the grape trade with San Francisco.<sup>32</sup>

Kohler and Frohling represented the largest wine firm in



Southern California in 1857. In that year they produced 60,000 gallons of wine. This firm later established the first exclusively California wine house in New York. In 1868 they sent some of their wines to Germany, Denmark and other European countries where they proved equal to the best German wines.<sup>33</sup>

The Sainsevain Brothers were also active after they purchased Vignes' winery. They experimented with champagne and their efforts resulted in the brand called "Sparkling Californian" which was reported to have been of fair quality.<sup>34</sup> In 1861 they joined with Benjamin Wilson, another vineyardist, to make the first large shipment of Californian wines to New York.<sup>35</sup>

The efforts of these men were to play an exceedingly important role in the economic life of Los Angeles in the early 1860's. At that time the city received a shock which threatened her very existence. This shock was caused by the collapse of the cattle industry which, along with the products of the vine, had been enjoying a period of unprecedented activity resulting from the gold rush.

The onslaught of the forty-niners created a need for beef as well as a demand for grapes and wine. Before long, the cattle ranchers were swept into a period of almost unbelievable prosperity. In spite of the poor quality of their herds, the ranchers were soon receiving thirty and forty dollars a head where they had formerly received four dollars.<sup>36</sup> However, there were gaping flaws in this type of economy, and it was not long before they began to be visible to any who cared to look. To begin with, the California rancher was not prepared for this boom. To have his simple economy shattered in this fashion had extravagant results. The ranchers began to spend money as though they had no understanding of its value at all, and, indeed, it is more than likely that they did not appreciate its significance. They borrowed on their present and future herds in order to expand. They became extravagant in the extreme. Without economic experience or knowledge, and without analytical ability, they accepted their sudden prosperity as a normal and healthy situation. It was psychology of most booms — the end was never considered.

But the very environment on which this wild, almost primitive industry thrived, began to destroy it. Law and order almost disappeared. The violence and lawlessness of the mining camps could not compare with the anarchy that spread over Southern California. Cattle thieves and organized bands of outlaws operated with devastating effect on the uncontrolled herds. Indian attacks from the

south and east added to the depreciation. Human life and property were cheap and cattle were as good as gold.

On top of these difficulties, the California ranchers were faced by a Congress that proved hostile to their interests. Prior to statehood, the California landowners had been assured by the U.S. officials that the American Government would safeguard all existing land titles. More than this, the *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* bound the U.S. Government to protect the Californian's property and to recognize all legitimate titles to property. Congress, however, passed a law that challenged the validity of every title in California. It required that every land grantee must be able to prove the validity of his Mexican grant before a committee that had been appointed by Congress.<sup>37</sup> The Californians, ignorant of American laws and custom, were at a great disadvantage. Legitimate costs and excessive lawyer fees, plus the lack of ready cash, forced many a rancher to sell or mortgage property to meet costs.<sup>38</sup>

The death blow was dealt from the hands of nature. Drought and floods ravaged the land in 1862. Thousands upon thousands of cattle perished. The ranchers, heavily in debt, were helpless to replenish their herds. Competition from outside the state drove the price of beef on the hoof down.<sup>39</sup> The situation, by 1864, is clearly shown in Santa Barbara, where 50,000 head were auctioned off at the average price of thirty-seven cents a head.<sup>40</sup> The industry was on its knees.

If the wine industry had not been mature enough to move into the vacuum created when the cattle economy collapsed, the city of Los Angeles would have suffered a blow that could well have paralyzed her for many years to come. But the measured steps of the slowly maturing grape and wine commerce had never halted since Don Aliso had set them in motion in the early 1830's. The records show the progressive importance of the vine to the area:

In 1845, 1,000 barrels of wine and brandy were shipped to the North.<sup>41</sup>

By the year 1855 the area nurtured 125 vineyards capable of producing 70,000 pounds of fresh grapes and 100,000 gallons of wine and brandy.<sup>42</sup> The care and produce of the 800,000 bearing vines employed over 4,000 people, and represented one million dollars of invested capital.<sup>43</sup>

In 1856 grape and wine commerce contributed close to two-thirds of the total coastwise trade, valued at \$233,635.<sup>44</sup>

Three years later in 1859 the value of the coastwise export trade was estimated at \$1,284,000, with the wine trade contributing \$139,000, and the fresh grape, \$67,000.<sup>45</sup>



## *Southern Vineyards*

This pace continued into the 1860's. The activity and vitality of this industry soothed the area's shaken economy, but it meant more than just business. Anyone familiar with a small community can readily see, almost feel, the psychological influence of this activity on the people. It represented life and purpose. While the cattle died on the range, the wagons loaded with casks and boxes of wine and grapes jolted through the streets on their way to San Pedro for shipping. While drought swelled the tongues of the dying beef, the vine bore its fruit. While floods swept over the land and the herds, the roots of the vine held firm and lived. While the cattle industry sank, the vine grew and flourished.

The year 1861 represented another big step. The Sainsevain Brothers, as was previously mentioned, joined with B. D. Wilson to make the first large shipment of California wine to New York. By 1869 this trade was established. Newmark & Company, sixth ranking exporter of California wine to the East, in that year shipped 13,500 gallons. During the following year, the firm's total rose to 30,303 gallons.<sup>46</sup>

By this time the transition of the Los Angeles economy to a more orderly status was well under way. It was not, however, able to turn to smaller, diversified agriculture as yet, for when cattle failed they were replaced by sheep, not farming. But the time was not too distant when livestock would be replaced more completely. In 1870, the ninth census showed a total livestock value of \$1,398,556.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, wine production alone amounted to only \$335,136 short of that total stock figure.<sup>48</sup> When it is remembered that the value of fresh grapes and brandy has not been included in the above figures, one can see that the vine was in a position of importance in the area.

As the 1870's progressed and the railroad and citrus industry appeared on the scene, assuring the future of the town's growth, the apex of the wine making art began to move North, settling in Sonoma. Col. Agostin Haraszthy, the champion of California wine interests, did much to make the northern area conscious of its superb wine growing land and climate.

But the development of the wine industry to the north is outside the pale of this paper, which wants only to show the importance of the vine in the history of Los Angeles. What we have seen is, in many respects, an old story and an expected one. After all, it is expected that the success of one man will attract others, as was the case of Jean Vignes and his successful wine experiments. Nor is it



surprising that the wine industry should develop in California; the soil and climate were ideally suited for such a venture.

What is important and significant here is that a man with "intelligent appreciation" made the discovery and began the development of the industry when he did. By creating a product and a market he gave to Los Angeles the means by which she was able to maintain her economic health during the tragic years of the 1860's. Perhaps the story can best be summed up by stating that the wealth which flowed from those vines served as a bridge between the collapse of the cattle boom and the birth of the citrus and oil booms in the 1870's. In those years between, Los Angeles was given the opportunity to catch her breath and adjust to a new way of life. This, then, was the gift that sprang from the mind and the hands of Jean Louis Vignes.

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27. Corosso, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
28. Davis, Corosso, and McKee all mention this but McKee states that the letters resulted in the immigration to California of at least thirty wine growers besides the Sainsevains. Davis and Corosso make mention only of the arrival of the Sainsevains.
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48. This figure is arrived at by figuring the value of each gallon of wine to have been two dollars.

# Art in Los Angeles *Before 1900*

By Henry Winfred Splitter

## PART I

N EARLY LOS ANGELES BEFORE 1870, there was but little pictorial art and few artists as compared with San Francisco, where flush mining days made for artistic prosperity. Yet in spite of Los Angeles' modest tempo in those decades, considerable of interest occurred which is worthy of recording. In 1859, the editor of the San Francisco *Herald*, when visiting one day at the home of his friend, Dr. Hill, was shown an exceedingly curious painting representing the Mission of San Gabriel near Los Angeles as it stood in 1828, during the Mission's most flourishing period. It was painted in 1835 in Mexico City from a detailed drawing made by Ferdinand Dieppe of Berlin, who, in 1828, was commercial representative on this coast for Mirmont & Co., a Mexican firm. Dieppe enjoyed the high esteem of the old settlers of this area and of the Mission Fathers and is said to have made a valuable collection of notes and scientific specimens in California. These he took with him when he returned to Berlin to become superintendent of a botanical garden.

This oil painting measured twenty-eight by thirty-eight inches, and being, according to Hill, the only proper painting ever made of any of the Missions during their florescence, was held worthy of careful preservation. Realistic in style, it pictured in the background Mt. San Bernardino's snow-capped summit and green wooded slopes, with the nearer hills tinged a May-time emerald and the whole flushed by the glowing gold of an afternoon sun. In the close middle distance stood the Mission, proud in its youthful beauty, with its surrounding greenery of trees, hedges, and the river flowing by. Spanish Californian communicants were grouped about the entrance watching a feast day procession as it left the church. The Indians as well as the Spaniards were represented as dressed in the colorful regalia of the times — the women in red flannel *bayetas* and the men with broad-brimmed black hats and bright satin waistcoats.



## *Art in Los Angeles*

Conspicuous in the foreground was famous old Father Sanchez attended by two Indian boys in red robes, the Father speaking to a foreign trader, perhaps representing Dieppe himself.<sup>1</sup>

Among the skills and practical techniques taught the local Indians by the early padres was that of drawing and figure painting. In 1901 there were still in the vestry of Our Lady of the Angels at the Plaza some twelve or fourteen paintings, cracked and worn by time but still colorful, that had been done more than a century before. The inscription in the vestry entrance reads, "Via Crucis (Stations of the Cross). Painted by San Fernando Mission Indians in the year 1800." Coarse linen cloth similar to butcher's linen was used as canvas material, which cloth was thoroughly glued to preserve the fibre and heavily covered with oil paint as a ground. The figures were then executed in colors made from earth pigments and from native herbs and roots mixed with a base of common white house paint.

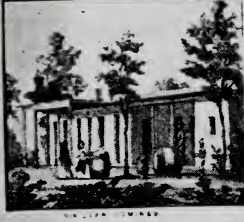
The figures were drawn in inexact and childish outline with a stiff, somewhat Egyptian-like effect; the men's faces were stained a deep pink or dark brown while the women's were almost white, like that of the Savior. Though there was no shading and very little perspective on these canvases, the facial expressions were strikingly varied, ranging from love to deepest hate and vice. The pastoral environment of the artists was reflected in the numerous horses introduced, it would almost seem, whenever and wherever possible. Though generally the execution was rough, there was throughout a kind of pathos, sweetness, and sincerity that proved quite affecting.<sup>2</sup>

There is also some evidence that this pre-American, pastoral period in Southern California boasted its wandering artists, who, in quest of portrait commissions, migrated from one great rancho to another, painting dons and their ladies as well as an occasional altar-piece for a private chapel. In the Coronel collection<sup>3</sup> is preserved the work of at least two of these early, unfortunately anonymous, artists. Primitive though these paintings were, there was an admirable sense of both beauty and character.

Since the technique of photography in the early 1850's had not yet advanced to the practical stage, pictorial representation of the far western scene was largely dependent upon artists' drawings, and in sequence upon lithography, which enabled ready duplication at reasonable cost. The first drawing of Los Angeles is ascribed to W. R. Hutton, who visited here in 1847. Next came that of H. M. T. Powell, who on March 17, 1850, sketched the little, flat-roofed,



COURT HOUSE



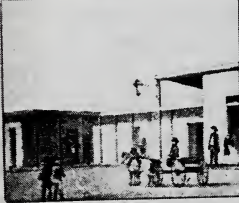
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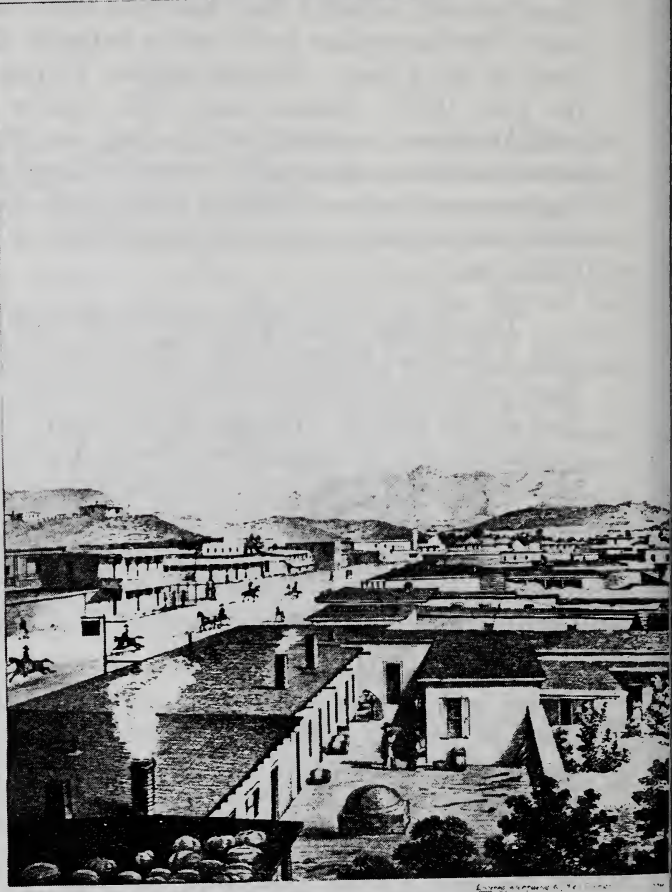
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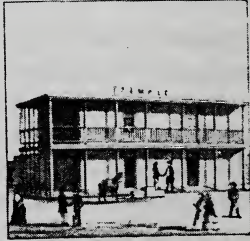
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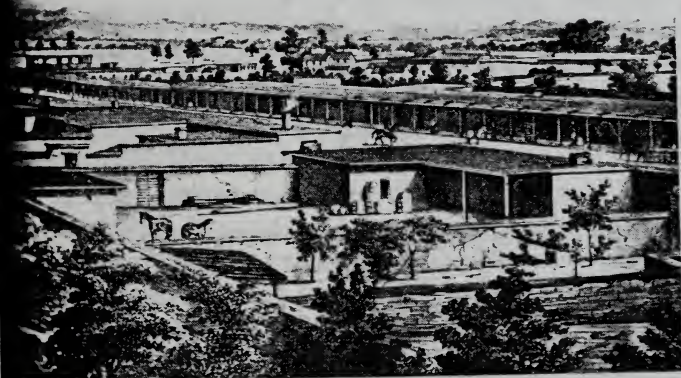
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adobe town as seen from Paredon Blanco, the mesa bluffs across the Los Angeles river now known as Boyle Heights. Powell's drawing was published for the first time in 1938.<sup>4</sup> Another view of the town by W. R. Hutton was drawn in 1852.<sup>5</sup>

For cheap and rapid reproduction of drawings, the lithographic process was widely used during the 1850's and later. A view of Los Angeles drawn by Charles Koppel, artist in 1853 of the Lieut. Williamson Pacific railroad survey, was lithographed and included in the official report of that expedition. This is the first published picture of the city. Koppel made his sketch, it is believed, on the morning of November 1, 1853, since he was here only from the evening of October 31 to the morning of November 2, and the view shows the high mountains behind present Santa Ana which even in pre-smog era, were seldom seen from Los Angeles except in the early mornings of fall and winter when the air was clear and free from haze.<sup>6</sup>

Another lithographer, Charles C. Kuchel, with his partner E. Dresel, was here in 1857 and sketched not only a general view of the town, but encircled it with a border of vignettes showing the stores and homes of the principal residents of that day. Kuchel brought out, in 1858, a set of twenty-five scenes from throughout the State, with their accompanying titled vignettes, of which set the vista of Los Angeles was one. The series was being exhibited in San Francisco in 1932 and an observer remarks that the lithograph of Los Angeles differed from all the others by its pronounced Spanish influence. "The spirit of mañana seems to encircle us as we note the names of Don Ramirez, Don Sepulveda, Don Vincente Guerrero, Stephen C. Foster, Don Juan Domingo, and Don Lorenzo Leck."<sup>7</sup>

Painters likewise were here in the 1850's and 1860's, mainly portrait artists, sometimes connected with one or another exploratory government expedition. H. B. Moellhausen, a portraitist with Lieut. Whipple's surveying expedition, arrived in Los Angeles in March 1854 and during his stay painted numerous portraits of Mojave and other Southern California Indians.<sup>8</sup> S. N. Carvalho, the artist of Frémont's 1853-54 exploring expedition, came in June, 1854 and exhibited here the portraits he had sketched or daguerreotyped on his way in from Salt Lake City and the East. There were likenesses of the celebrated Ute chiefs Walker, Grosapine, Squash Head, and Petetnet; also paintings of chiefs of the Pauvan, San Pete, Pah Utes, Riede, and Digger Indians, all drawn from life. In addition, he had sketched a large number of scenes illustrating the whole course of his travels. The Indian portraits and landscapes

drawn and photographed while on the expedition were never published and it is thought that they were all destroyed in a fire that swept a storehouse where Frémont material was kept, though some may still be in the Matthew Brady papers collection in Washington. Brady developed Carvalho's daguerreotype plates and may have kept copies.

For several months Carvalho operated a daguerreotype gallery here.<sup>9</sup> On one occasion he advertised a raffle of three of his paintings, eighty chances at a dollar each, with three additional consolation prizes. The tickets were for sale at the Bella Union Hotel and the paintings on exhibition at the Daguerrean Gallery over the Nueva Tienda de China."<sup>10</sup> Carvalho, while in Los Angeles, painted the portraits of Don Manuel Dominguez of the famous rancho and his wife Donna Gracia, and one of their daughters, as well as that of ex-Governor Pio Pico and several other gentlemen.

A landscapist and later religious artist, William H. Jackson, painted a water color of Los Angeles as viewed on April 1, 1867, from the bluffs east of the river. The town, huddled unimpressively at the foot of its low hills, is seen to the westward against a backdrop of the mountains around Cahuenga Pass. In the foreground are two mounted men driving a herd of horses along the road to town. The whole scene is pleasantly realistic. This water color is at present held by the Los Angeles County Museum.<sup>11</sup>

Painters were sometimes, even at this early date, employed in the field of technical and advertising art. As evidence we have the description of a "handsome oil painting" representing the Sainsevain Bros. wine processes in 1860, with laborers at work bringing in grapes, operating the presses, and coopering barrels. Over the whole busy scene as unifying motif spread the mammoth Old Aliso or sycamore, a local landmark near the Los Angeles river, which great tree also gave name to the Sainsevain vineyard nearby. This picture was being exhibited at the San Francisco Mechanics' Fair in September, 1860, with samples of Sainsevain's wines.<sup>12</sup>

Popular in the 1850's and 1860's were panoramas, a kind of forerunner of the modern motion picture. On tall rolls of canvas were painted with greater or less realism and skill an extensive scene or panorama, consisting perhaps of a single stationary view as of a famous and crucial battle or a series of such views, which was then set up at some distance from the spectators and dioramic and stereoscopic effects often combined with it; or the panorama might consist of a succession of scenes as in a travelogue, which was then



unrolled, unit by unit, before the audiences, with explanatory and entertaining comment, sometimes with musical accompaniment. The basis for these paintings was usually a number of preliminary sketches made, if the subject required it, on the specific location, which were then painted at leisure in the studio on panorama canvas. Often illusion of movement was ingeniously obtained, as in a dioramic scene of a naval battle. The educational value of these exhibitions was frequently stressed in the advertising.

Appearing in Los Angeles in the spring of 1864 was J. W. Wilder & Co.'s "Gigantic Polyrama" of the Civil War from Sumter down to the latest battle. It was said to have been painted from "authentic sketches by a corps of eminent artists, and acknowledged correct by members of Congress and the War and Navy Departments." It was further declared to be "profuse with startling scenic and dioramic effects, including a grand moving diorama of the great naval combat between the iron-clad monsters, the Monitor and the Merrimac." There were over a thousand views of the "gigantic rebellion" that were included under the following general heads: The War in the West, The Contest in the East, The War Upon the Ocean, Comic Scenes in Camp Life, and Scenes of Sad and Mournful Interest. Admission was a dollar, back seats fifty cents, and children half price.<sup>13</sup>

A panorama of literary value and interest was that of *Paradise Lost*, presented here by R. G. Bachelder in 1866. According to the advertisement in the *News*, "This magnificent display of artistic skill surpasses anything ever presented in this State, and is highly beneficial to the mind of both old and young."<sup>14</sup>

In the 1870's, with the building of the Southern Pacific from San Francisco to Los Angeles, the first cars arriving in 1876, a mild boom hit the city, stimulating immigration, sales of real estate, and business activity in general. Art, too, came in for more attention. In fact, the sales of art work, especially paintings, were surprisingly large. Though art here was not exactly in the class of big business, it nevertheless employed the ingenuity of a number of alert entrepreneurs. In January, 1874, a large gallery of oil paintings, one hundred ten in number, were transported to Los Angeles by an enterprising young middleman named Levy and put up at auction sale in rooms on Spring street. Before prospecting Los Angeles, he had successfully disposed of similar collections in Portland, San Francisco, San Jose, and other coast cities. Among the pictures brought here were marines, German landscapes, "Monarch of the Glen," "Storm in the Mountains," setters flushing a woodcock and other hunting scenes, and buxom damsels for bachelor's apartments.



## Art in Los Angeles

As the *Star* put it, "For the first time in the history of our town, a gentleman, rashly perhaps, has visited us speculating on our taste and love of art." Sales proved slow and art dealer Levy ventured finally a remark to the effect that to his mind Los Angeles did not appreciate fine art. Thereupon the *Star* spoke up in defense of local artistic taste, saying that Levy "must not lose his temper if accidentally one or two are sold thus at auction far below their value," and reminded him that at private sale the day previously he had sold seven pictures for a total of \$950. After several days of art auctioneering, eighty paintings were still undisposed of. The *Star* admitted that freight bills, advertising, and other expenses had been high and that Levy stood a good chance of losing about \$4000 in the venture. Some of the pictures had hardly fetched the value of their elaborate gift frames. No details of the final outcome are available and Levy may indeed have lost his proverbial shirt.<sup>15</sup>

If so, a few months later another optimistic art dealer was willing to take a chance here. This time it was Charles Kaiser, a former resident of the city, who arrived from Ecuador, South America, of all places, with a sizeable stock of oil paintings which he proposed to dispose of by private sale. The pictures were described as of large size, done by Italian, French, and Spanish artists, and illustrative of historical, Biblical, and poetic subjects. Each painting was numbered and catalogued to facilitate inspection and sale. At first a charge of twenty-five cents was levied for admission to the gallery.<sup>16</sup>

Public school pupils were invited to a free view of the collection and they came *en masse*. Each class was given an hour's recess to see the paintings and some five hundred persons in all came in a single day.<sup>17</sup> This and other skillful advertising failed, however, to move the stock with sufficient rapidity. Kaiser was forced to resort to the auctioneer, though not at sacrifice prices. At such a sale Judge Brunson had three fine paintings knocked down to him for several hundred dollars. Titles of these were "The Nine Muses," "Susanna and the Elders," and "Venus."<sup>18</sup>

Still encumbered by a considerable store of art, and the need for a solution being obviously urgent, a bright idea flashed into Kaiser's mind — raffle off the paintings at a lottery. One hundred twenty-five tickets were thus disposed of, with twenty paintings as the reward of happy chance. A partial list of the titles is illuminating: "Othello," "Venus," "May and December," "Germani," "The Wine Tasters," "Two Old Friends," "Hermann and Dorothea," "Judith and Holofernes," "Billiard Players," "Bacchus," "Buffalo Hunting," and "The Jolly Barkeeper."<sup>19</sup> Pseudo-classical and story-tell-

ing themes are dominant and sentimentality rampant, all perhaps not too dissimilar to a contemporary *Saturday Evening Post* cover, but apparently this motif had already won friends and influenced people.

Other art merchants came and went, usually with fair profits. One such collection consisting of 83 pieces sold out all but nineteen in the course of a week or two. As to prices, here is one instance: "Joe Williams bought the coast scene of Yucatan and the wildwood scene, paying for both \$225."<sup>20</sup> The balance of nineteen was disposed of at auction.

Auctions were, we note, generally resorted to only as speculations or for remnants of stock and difficult assignments. The financial depression which finally overtook even Los Angeles in late 1876 caught one dealer with a considerable overload. The auctioneer shouted and pounded away, but to no avail. "He sold last night over 200 pictures at almost ruinous prices to consignors, as they did not bring fifty cents on the dollar on what we have to pay for the frames here. There are still left about 500 of the pictures, and a great many choice pieces, such as "Moonlight on the Thames;" also Bierstadt's "Head Waters on the Colorado River," and his fine "View on the Truckee River."<sup>21</sup>

The practical attitude toward art auctions as Cheap John disposes is illustrated by the exclamatory report in the *Express* in 1878, that a collection of paintings held by the estate of the late Dr. Monroe L. Pierce was disposed of at administrator's sale for \$105, while its original cost had been \$5000. A subsequent note the next day from the auctioneer revealed that actually the paintings had been received in lieu of a bad debt, that all but two were unfinished, and that they had been appraised prior to the sale at \$65 for the lot.<sup>22</sup>

Modern devices of merchandising were found sometimes to stimulate art turnover. Here is the text of a dealer's advertisement in an 1874 issue of the *Herald*: "The only place in the city to get choice engravings, chromos, oil paintings, etc., is at M. V. Ponet's, 66 Main street, where you can buy them cheap, or pay in weekly installments of from 25 cents to \$1, according to the amount purchased."<sup>23</sup> Considerably more art, of course, could be and was purchased when the entire periodic income was not yet burdened by payments for automobile, television, refrigerator, washing machine, and what not. Yet, even without such payments, who today thinks of buying a fairly good picture at a dollar a week, or any other sum? More, what artist would dream of offering to sell on such terms?



## Art in Los Angeles

Lithographs for book and magazine illustration and for separate issue were still in demand in the 1870's, in spite of the increasing competition of photography. In the early months of 1873, an artist named A. E. Mathews was out canvassing for Southern California subscribers to a series of lithographs for which he was making drawings. It included views of Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino, and Santa Barbara and the set was to emphasize the picturesque over mere realism, making sketches which in final effect would attract visitors and permanent settlers to the region. "His design for Los Angeles," said the *Express*, "is not to give undue prominence to the city, but to give a bold view of the beautiful range of mountains in the background, with the city and its surroundings, just such a one as we would like to send East and elsewhere, to give friends an idea of our beautiful situation."<sup>24</sup> Mr. Mathew's work was thus indicative of the beginning surge of the wide-spread advertising of Southern California, soon to become so effective.

In April the sketches, lithographed in San Francisco, arrived and sets not subscribed for were placed on sale at Broderick's Book Store.<sup>25</sup> Not all purchasers, however, were satisfied, for the attempted picturesqueness had allegedly degenerated into gross distortion of reality. Perspective, said the editor of the *San Diego Union*, was exceedingly defective in all the sketches excepting the one of Santa Barbara. The mountain ranges in the background were uniformly represented in close proximity, when in fact they were many miles distant. Cuyamaca Peak, forty miles from San Diego, seemed to be crowding the city into the bay; the Sierra Madre range, almost twenty miles northeast of Los Angeles, was represented to be on its outskirts, while the mountains ten or more miles east of San Bernardino seemed scarcely a mile from that city.<sup>26</sup>

Artist E. S. Glover was here in 1876 making a lithographic sketch of Los Angeles, a bird's-eye view from the hills north of town, and also sketching Santa Monica, Wilmington, and other places in Southern California. According to Glover the lithographers were to illustrate a book relating history and current facts about this part of the State. Bancroft of San Francisco was to be the publisher. Glover had previously published similar views, particularly of Denver, Golden City and other Colorado towns.<sup>27</sup>

Art had some attractiveness in the 1870's even for clothing stores, as when a traveling artist named Douglass, hailing from Chicago, painted for clothier Winter of the Important Store, two life-sized canvases of gentlemen dressed in the height of current fashion.



Said the *Herald*, "These pictures now ornament the sidewalk in front of the Important, and intimate pretty loudly to the passerby that the latest, most excruciating thing in the way of gentlemen's clothing is for sale there."<sup>28</sup>

Another economic application of the art of painting appeared when, in 1873, the board of directors of the California Vine Growers and Wine and Brandy Manufacturers' Association resolved to have painted and chromoed all important varieties of grapes grown in the State, to illustrate their projected book on California vine culture and derivative industries. Artists throughout the State were invited to join in the competition for position of chief artist, a sample grape painting to be submitted by each contestant. The artist submitting the best painting and lowest bid price per picture would get the contract. A large number of artists, including some from Southern California, sent in samples of their work, all being in oils except a water color by Hannah Millard of San Jose. At the State Fair, where many of the paintings were exhibited by the Association, Miss Millard won a silver medal as premium and subsequently the contract for the art job. Twenty varieties were to be painted the first season, commencing in August.<sup>29</sup>

By the middle 1870's Los Angeles seemed capable of supporting at least one or more resident artists. Considerable versatility was required, to be sure, and willingness to undertake the simplest of commissions. Perhaps no artist in Los Angeles later became better known to its residents than Mrs. C. P. Bradfield (néé Miss Jeffrey), her name being a household word with many. She had studied art in New York City and for some time was an art teacher there. She also gained something of a reputation for her sketches in the *New York Graphic* and in the *Floral Cabinet*. She came to Los Angeles in 1874, but all her pictures, which she had shipped to the coast via steamer, were lost when the vessel was shipwrecked. Undaunted, she gave her first lessons in art in the Methodist church on Fort street. Later she was employed in the Sisters of Mary school and in that of the Misses Achelson. When industrial drawing was introduced into the public schools in 1878, its superintendence was assigned to Mrs. Bradfield, in which capacity she served for many years thereafter. She sent to the World's Fair at the Crystal Palace in London a collection of her paintings of wild flowers of the Middle States, bound in an elegant volume, and, being a British subject at the time, she dedicated it to Queen Victoria. Mrs. Bradfield subsequently received a medal as prize, and also an autograph letter from Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Her paintings had made a sen-

sation, as English artists could hardly realize that our wild flowers were so brilliantly colored. The book, it is said, was ultimately purchased by Queen Victoria.<sup>30</sup>

Mrs. S. I. Mayo, who in 1877 established a studio in rooms 48-49 of the McDonald Block, executed portraits and landscapes to order, worked from photographs, gave drawing and painting instruction, and did free lance canvases. The year previous she had from a photograph done a realistic and colorful painting of the residence of O. H. Bliss, of Kingston in Fresno county. Being personally acquainted with Mr. Bliss, the *Herald* editor hoped that he would exhibit the painting "so that the public may see that Los Angeles has local artists worthy of note." The canvas was shown here at the photographer's gallery of Mr. Ponet.<sup>31</sup> She also displayed a collection of her work at the Los Angeles County Fair, where her "Napoleon" was generally regarded as a masterpiece. On order she did an attractive Madonna for one of the leading Spanish families. Water colors were a favorite medium with her. A Santa Monica scene in oils represented two lovers seated on the beach engaged in earnest conversation.<sup>32</sup>

Paul Petrovits was another local resident artist for a time, arriving in 1876. His story, however, has a tragic finale. He had been an artist of reputation in New York, but was compelled to emigrate to California for health reasons. Before coming to Los Angeles he had spent two years in San Francisco. Setting up his studio at the Pico House, he advertised himself as specializing in portrait work.<sup>33</sup> He soon became popular, painting a life-portrait of the seventy-five year old Pio Pico, and of General Andrés Pico, the latter from a small daguerreotype taken twenty years earlier. "Considering this fact," said the *Express*, the likeness is a very meritorious one. The artist had to struggle with the difficulty of manufacturing an old man from his likeness when in the vigor of manhood." The portrait of Pio Pico was to be exhibited for a time at leading local stores.<sup>34</sup>

In December of this same year, however, we find Petrovits gripped by a mixture of ambition and wanderlust, ready to set sail for South America. Explained the *Express*, "He goes thither in compliance with the invitation of his South American patrons. At the International Exposition in Chili, a medal was awarded to Mr. Petrovits for the finest portraits."<sup>35</sup>

A year later, after South America, the artist removed to the still booming mine center of Nevada's Virginia City. The *Territorial Enterprise* of that town described two of Petrovits' latest pictures



as displayed there in a book-store window. The first, a large canvas entitled "The Siesta," represented a handsome boy about five years old drowsing with his head pillowed upon a large shaggy dog lying asleep on the floor. The figures were nearly life size and "most minutely and smoothly finished." Harmony in the composition was obtained, said the critic, by the combination of a cool gray background with a rich crimson curtain let fall at the boy's feet.

"There is also the portrait of a child, the daughter of one of our leading citizens, that is a perfect gem. It is a bust, and is so handled that the face and shoulders seem just rising through a mist or cloud. The fresh tints are as soft and clear as the color in a sea shell, and the handling is so smooth that the picture seems to have been done in enamel. The hair, a mass of clustering curls, is most artistically colored and shaded, and appears as though it might be stirred by every breeze, so free and floating is it shown." Petrovits' pictures, this observer concluded, were painted to last, even to improve with age, one application of enamel after another being laid on until a perfect and impervious coat had been formed.<sup>36</sup>

Pathos and tragedy marked the end of Paul Petrovits' career. At the time of his arrival in Los Angeles he was already advanced in years, being 65, while his beautiful wife, whose portrait conspicuously adorned his Pico House studio, was only twenty-three. The couple, nevertheless, seemed happy, the artist markedly adoring his attractive wife, and all of Los Angeles was shocked when the news came from Australia, whither Petrovits had gone after Virginia City, that he had, in a fit of what appeared to be jealous rage, killed his beloved companion and then suffered the ultimate penalty of the law.<sup>37</sup>

One of the best of the artists locally resident for a time was Edwin Deakin, whose twenty-one paintings of the old Missions of California, done from 1870 to 1899, are in the Los Angeles County Museum. The observer is favorably impressed by the painter's realism in presentation of the buildings, at this time most generally in ruinous condition, and of their environment.<sup>38</sup>

Frankly controversial and an effective antidote to conventionalism in art was the canvas displayed in the spring of 1878 in the window of Pruess' drug store. The local artist, Hasselman, had represented in expanse an unclothed and beautiful young woman sitting, as though just arising, on the edge of her couch and commencing the morning ablutions from a large bowl of water before her on the floor. The picture drew much attention. The *Express* remarks,



"In passing the display window several times this morning (note the fact that we were merely passing), we saw some of the most staid and pious burghers of the place greedily drinking in the beauties of the occasion." Wrinkling his critical brow he concludes that "the painting is a superb work of art, even if it be rather warm and loud, and no doubt it will readily find a purchaser."

Interest continued unabated and the *Express* reports "a knot of people is to be found admiring it at almost all hours. Many staid and sober old citizens have been back three or four times." A crude line sketch was reproduced in the *Express* for the benefit of those who could not inspect the picture in person, with the following details labeled for identification: washbowl, yellow slippers peeping out from underneath bed, beautiful feet, left leg thrown gracefully over the right, right arm gracefully reaching out to lave the beautiful feet, left arm supporting half-recumbent figure, blue night gown (on bed), necklace (on neck), and bows of red ribbon in hair.<sup>39</sup>

The competitive *Herald*, marking the enthusiasm of the *Express* and itself not overly impressed, said acidly, "Unlike our evening contemporary, we are so perfectly unfamiliar with studies of this kind that we cannot dare to essay the role of critic. He, on the other hand, saw all, criticized all, admired all."<sup>40</sup>

Finally the artistic-moral temperature of Los Angeles having risen somewhat explosively to an uncomfortable degree, the *Express* was obliged to recant. We find him saying unhappily, "The picture of 'The Morning Bath' would appropriately find room in a gallery of art where grown connoisseurs could discuss its beauties; but it is out of place in a public show window, where all eyes, young and old, have access to its too suggestive fidelity to nature. Let the picture be retired from the miscellaneous gaze."<sup>41</sup> And so, doubtless, it presently was and Los Angeles resumed the even tenor of its way.

Artists born and bred in Los Angeles were few and youthful. There is Master Abram Edelman, son of Rabbi A. W. Edelman, whose drawing entitled "The Reaper" hung in the Pruess drugstore window in 1879. Its technique was generally accepted as good and the best wishes were extended to the young artist, then pursuing his art studies in San Francisco.<sup>42</sup>

There was also Victor Goethals, who, aged eighteen, had his copy in oils of the famous Beatrice Cenci displayed in the window of the Important Store. Young Goethals had never had any formal lessons in drawing or painting and the canvas was of a rather un-

suitable grade of coarse cotton, yet, said the *Herald*, "his handling of his subject is positively wonderful."<sup>43</sup> About a month later he had another painting on view — this time a copy of Murillo's Immaculate Conception. The *Herald* exclaims: "The work has astonishing merit!" and is pleased to hear that Victor is to proceed shortly to Paris for art instruction suitable to a youth of such "extraordinary talents."<sup>44</sup>

Judging by the amount of artists' production and sales in Los Angeles, the next decade, the 1880's, were for them prosperous years. There was work to be done in many fields — crafts, interior decorating, fresco painting, plastic set creation, cartooning, commercial art, book illustrating, etching, and of course, most important of all, painting. Yet the position of the Los Angeles artist was, to say the least, none to secure for reasons that will presently be explained.

To commence with wood carving, a presumably humble craft, J. D. Batz, a sheep herder who wintered here in 1880, executed an orange-wood cane that was truly an amazing *tour de force*. The cane was netted with a texture of carved wood consisting of several hundreds of medallions of birds, beasts, reptiles and fish in lifelike profile, all hand colored in natural tints. On the handle, to top it all, Batz had carved a portrait of the gentleman for whom the cane had been designed and executed.

Another art of low degree, that of interior decorating, had by 1886, early boom time, risen to such a degree of prominence in our rapidly expanding and flourishing economy that its practitioners sometimes thought of themselves as members of a profession. There was J. Harry Conlan, local decorator, for example, who was of this mind. "Last year," he said to an interviewer, I hung in Los Angeles county over 16,000 rolls of wallpaper." The interviewer remarked, "This work of decorating is a vast improvement on the dead white walls so universal a few years ago, isn't it?" "Yes," came the reply. "Wallpaper enhances the effect of the entire room and contents. Decorating, if artistically done, gives satisfaction, and is not very expensive. Another good feature is that old and soiled walls are made good as new. If new wallpaper doesn't exactly cover a multitude of sins, it does conceal a vast amount of dirt, and gives beauty, harmony, and grace where before were filth and deformity."

As this seemed to the reporter like frank speaking, he was encouraged to ask another question. "Understanding you to be a leading decorator, to what do you attribute your success, Mr. Conlan?" Pausing for an instant to emphasize the words, Conlan said sol-



emly, "I owe my entire success to my being able to harmonize colors, to use good taste in selecting proper hangings such as are appropriate to the different rooms of a dwelling. I make a study of the art. I read all the best works on the subject, take the best magazines devoted to it, and endeavor to keep abreast of the times in my profession."<sup>45</sup> And indeed Conlan may have contributed in his day as much or more to the essential qualities of intelligent living as many a lawyer, professor, or doctor.

Aside from professionals, some hard-pressed local artists also took up interior decoration. Mrs. Bradfield, the resident English-woman of some ingenuity and artistic calibre whose work has been discussed earlier, obtained an assignment to prepare the plans for the furnishing and decoration of a rather pretentious local home. Fresco wood carvings found their motif in the olive tree, as did the tint of the walls and decor of furniture. For the ceiling, roses were drawn against a blue ground, the center shaded in pearl gray. In another room the English walnut, another Southern California tree, was inspiration for the wood carvings and general tone; in a third, the pomegranate.<sup>46</sup>

Proving they could not be outdone by such ventures, some well-to-do citizens even became patrons of fresco painting. P. Pavesich, a painter specializing in such fresco work, in the early 1880's therewith embellished the home of J. E. Hollenbeck, banker, and the residence of Kaspare Cohn of H. Newmark & Co.<sup>47</sup> The residence of L. J. Rose at Fourth and Grand displayed fresco work by Guiseppe Moretti of San Francisco.<sup>47a</sup>

Some years earlier, the Catholic Cathedral on Main street, at that time perhaps the most architecturally impressive building in the city, offered opportunity for fresco work to Alexander Zins. The frescos of the great nave were divided into eight large panels, each spanning the entire vault. These panels were subdivided into tasteful sections, each adorned with Greco-mosaics or with circled arabesques and at intervals with the monogram of Jesus Hominum Salvator. The interior was further dignified by twelve fluted Corinthian columns separating the nave from the aisles, and the walls were painted in imitation of marble. In the outside tower hung three bells, two from the San Fernando Mission and the other from the Mission at San Luis Rey. Tourists in nearby hotels complained that they were not able to sleep in early morning hours because of the recurring battery of tolling and clangour.<sup>48</sup>

Models in easily molded material, of historical places and per-



sons, were a contribution made by art to popular education. One such attraction in Los Angeles was a replica of the Gettysburg battle-ground in miniature, located in a field at the corner of Seventh and Main streets and surrounded by a circular board fence. Twenty-five cents was the price of admission.

Another such visual aid to history was the panorama or "cyclorama" of the Siege of Paris by the Germans in 1871. At the height of the real estate boom of 1887 an imposing list of solid Los Angeles citizens organized to build permanent housing for the famous panorama. It had been painted by a well-known French artist, Felix Philippoteux, and first exhibited in Paris. It was then brought to Philadelphia for showing at the 1876 Centennial exhibition and thereafter it was viewed in New York, Chicago, and New Orleans.

The building was erected on Main street, between Third and Fourth, the architect and contractor being Major William Arms of New Orleans, who had put up a similar building for the World's Fair in that city, and also erected the panorama buildings at Cincinnati and Milwaukee, and had at San Francisco set the picture diorama of the Battle of Mission Ridge. The Los Angeles structure was octagonal, one hundred twenty-eight feet in diameter, and eighty-five feet high to the top of its central dome, the side walls fifty feet high to the edge of the cornice. The walls and roof were covered with sheet metal. The picture was placed close to the inside of the wall and completely circled the building. In the center of the area was a circular revolving platform twenty feet high and forty-five feet in diameter with a capacity of a 350-person audience. It was led up to by a spiral stairway. The space between this viewing stand and the picture was laid out with dioramic effects so realistic that as one observer remarked, "one could scarcely detect where the foreground ended and the picture began." The building was lighted at night by electricity, then a new form of illumination. Catalogues giving a diagram of the picture and a short description of the battle were free, a lecturer giving an explanatory talk every hour from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. In later years the Battle of Gettysburg panorama was also shown here.<sup>49</sup>

The Panorama building soon, however, fell upon evil days with the swift deflation of the boom, and by the summer of the next year, 1888, was in the hands of Carl Browne, self-styled "Nast of the Pacific," after Condé Nast, famous contemporary cartoonist and quick-sketch artist. Browne was connected with the Los Angeles humorous weekly *Cactus*, and on the evening of July 3, 1888, en-

tertained fellow craftsmen in a novel fashion for a newspaperman. After a look at the cyclorama, *Siege of Paris*, an adjournment was made to the Panorama annex where Browne showed his valuable collection of paintings numbering about one hundred, most of them life-size copies of the old masters. After the lecture, refreshments were brought in and finally Browne, by a demonstration of rapid painting of the Yosemite Valley, proved that he was indeed the Nast of the Pacific.<sup>50</sup>

The *Cactus* sketches by Browne are for the most part political cartoons, to us obscure in theme and drawn in a stiff and angular manner, quite unattractive today but then being popularized by the great Nast. There are, however, some good drawings of local events and places: a circus parade passing down Spring street in May, 1882, Round House park, a Santa Monica beach scene, ostriches scattering their keepers by well-aimed kicks (their kick can be as powerful as that of a mule), and latest scenes from Inglewood, Glendale, San Fernando Valley and other rapidly growing centers.

Condé Nast himself gave a lecture in Los Angeles early in April, 1888. The Hazard Pavilion at Fifth and Olive was jammed with fully 3000 people eager to see and hear the renowned artist. The lecture was a "chalk talk" with political implications — Nast was a strong Republican and clearly out after Tammany's hide. He first, to the delight of his audience, did a painting of De Soto discovering the Mississippi, then swiftly transformed this into a "Turner" as a view of Niagara Falls. A moonlight scene was then done in colors on canvas and framed in goldglit. Nast closed his lecture by drawing a cartoon of himself in a night-cap and dressing gown, with candle, going to bed. He hit off Los Angeles climate in a pair of angel's wing just sprouting, applied to the back of the figure. This, he declared, was to show that while he had been here only a week, the climate was bound to make an "Angel" of him.<sup>51</sup>

A representative of the tribe of book illustrators also descended upon Los Angeles (the year was 1886) and was welcomed by none less than the real estate dealers. This artist, employed by a Chicago publishing house, proposed to take about seventy-five photographic views of the city for a work to be titled, "Picturesque Los Angeles." Said the *Tribune*,<sup>52</sup> "This enterprise will no doubt help along the Los Angeles boom among Eastern people." Another boomtime art enterprise was that assiduously developed by E. S. Moore, who having drawn and lithographed some birds'-eye views of Coronado Beach, San Jacinto, and other suburbs of Los Angeles then figuring currently in real estate subdividers' dreams, was about performing



the same service for the sponsors of Antelope Valley in the Mojave desert. "The view well be 2½ by 3 feet, embracing a territory thirty miles square, showing the artesian wells, water courses, ditches, towns, and other developments," all of course strictly existent only in the rosy vision of the promoters.<sup>53</sup>

More authentic and certainly original in conception was the painting of Calico Mountain and its mines that hung in the Los Angeles office of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company. Its distinguishing feature was that all of the colored pigments used in painting it were made from soil and ores found at the camp.<sup>54</sup> Holding the title of being the largest framed painting in the city was the one hung over the mirror in the pretentious saloon of Vaché Freres & Co., a large-scale winery and liquor dealer at Alameda and Commercial streets. It was eight feet high and twenty-four feet long and represented realistically a handsome place in San Bernardino county owned by Vaché Freres and known as the Brookside Vineyard and Winery. The artist was E. Anhorn of East Los Angeles, who, said the *Herald*, "has thereby distinguished himself as a landscape painter."<sup>55</sup> Another massive demonstration of some Los Angeles artists' group spirit and valor was the painting covering the entire front, except windows, of the establishment of Manning & Offutt, sign painters at 106 Los Angeles street. It consisted of a variety of symbolic scenes of natural beauty and of action in Southern California. So realistic were some of the representations of flowers that honey bees were alleged to have left their native blossoms to sip sweetness from these pictured ones.<sup>56</sup>

(To be continued in the June QUARTERLY)

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6. *Coast and Valley Towns* op. cit. Taft op. cit.
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20. Los Angeles *Express*, Jan. 15, 18, 1876.
21. Los Angeles *Express*, Dec. 6, 1876.
22. Los Angeles *Express*, May 23, 1878 (p 3 col 7). Los Angeles *Express*, May 24, 1878 (p 3 col 7).
23. Los Angeles *Herald*, Jan. 21, 1874.
24. Los Angeles *Express*, Jan. 11, 1873.
25. Los Angeles *Express*, April 19, 1873.
26. San Diego *Union*, April 15, 1873.
27. Santa Monica *Outlook*, Oct. 18, 1876. Los Angeles *Herald*, June 9, 1876.
28. Los Angeles *Herald*, June 19, 1877 (p 3 col 2).
29. Los Angeles *Star*, July 20, 1873.
30. Los Angeles *Times*, Sept. 21, 1884.
31. Los Angeles *Herald*, Jan. 16, 1877 (p 3 col 4).
32. Los Angeles *Express*, June 26, 1878 (p 3 col 3).
33. Los Angeles *Express*, Jan. 29, 1876.
34. Los Angeles *Express*, March 23, 1876.
35. Los Angeles *Express*, Dec. 27, 1876.
36. Los Angeles *Herald*, Jan. 16, 1878; Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*.
37. Los Angeles *Commercial*, June 8, 1881.
38. Deakin was born in Sheffield, England, in 1840, receiving early education in his native town. He soon developed a fondness for landscape and architecture, and after study and practice in England and France, he came to California, where he soon selected the Spanish Missions as a specialty. His daughters up to recently were still living at Carmel.
39. Los Angeles *Express*, March 20, 22, 23, 1878.
40. Los Angeles *Herald*, March 21, 1878.
41. Los Angeles *Express*, March 23, 1878.
42. Los Angeles *Herald*, July 17, 1879.
43. Los Angeles *Herald*, Aug. 10, 1876.
44. Los Angeles *Herald*, Sept. 28, 1876.
45. Los Angeles *Times*, Jan. 13, 1886.
46. Los Angeles *Times*, Sept. 21, 1884.
47. Los Angeles *Commercial*, Aug. 3, 1881.
- 47a. Los Angeles *Express*, Oct. 4, 1890.
48. Los Angeles *Express*, April 10, 1876.
49. Los Angeles *Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1887. Boyle Workman, *The City That Grew* (Los Angeles 1936), 134.
50. Los Angeles *Weekly Cactus*, July 21, 1888.
51. Los Angeles *Weekly Cactus*, April 7, 1888.
52. Los Angeles *Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1886.
53. Los Angeles *Herald*, July 15, 1887 (p 3 col 1).
54. Los Angeles *Commercial*, May 10, 1882.
55. Los Angeles *Herald*, June 5, 1887 (p 2 col 1).
56. Los Angeles *Herald*, Aug. 24, 1883 (p 3 col 3).

# The Comenzada Dates of the California Missions

By J. N. Bowman

HISTORIAN, STATE ARCHIVES, *Retired*

ART OF THE UNREPORTED CEREMONIES in the founding of the twenty-one California missions by the Franciscan Fathers from San Diego to Sonoma, from 1769 to 1823, was the opening of the parochial books of baptisms, marriages, and deaths and perhaps the books of confirmations and *patentes*. These books are uniform in size and in flexible leather bindings except those of San Diego, which were replaced in 1776 after the burning of the original set in the preceeding year by the Indians. The books opened for the San Francisco presidio became the books of Mission Dolores, but the Santa Barbara presidio books did not become those of the mission when it was founded four years later. The mission began with a set of its own. Also, part of the first book of baptisms of San Luis Obispo was burned.

Of the books of baptisms, twenty-six volumes are still extant and the two (estimated) of San Luis Rey have been lost since 1847 or earlier; twenty books of marriages are also in existence and the one for San Luis Rey is lost; twenty-six volumes of the books of deaths are extant and five are lost (San Diego for 1831 to 1849, the first volume of San Antonio, the one volume of Soledad, and the estimated two of San Luis Rey). These represent an original total of eighty volumes, together with the three volumes for the first four years of the Santa Barbara presidio.

Each of these three sets of books, except those of San Rafael and Sonoma, had originally a formal and uniform title page, many of them written by the *presidente*, Serra, personally. Their contents are quite uniform: after the religious salutation is written the *Libro de Bapismos*, etc., in which are registered the baptisms of the children of the soldiers, populace, and Indians, the formal and official name of the mission founded by the favor and at the expense of the

## *The Comenzada Dates of the California Missions*

King, and then the *comenzada* date when the books were opened for entries. Usually, but not always, this title page was written, or at least dated on the day of the founding.

The title pages of the San Rafael books evidently were never written, but at the top of the page of the first entries is an abstracted statement of the contents of the usual title page, with the *comenzada* date, December 14, 1817. The books of marriages and deaths are without even this substitute. Unlike the book of all the other missions, those of San Rafael are bound in one volume with the usual flexible leather binding.

In the Sonoma books, there is neither title page nor a substitute, while the book of baptisms has only a heading, *Libro de bautismos* . . . , Año 1824, but no *comenzada* date; the first entry is dated December 26, 1823. Both the heading and the first entry were written by Padre José Altimira who founded the mission; just above his writing at the top of the page is a crossed-out statement, not in this padre's writing, of a *libro* in which are to be entered orders, etc., of the political government, and "Año de 1822". The inference is that this book was prepared in 1822 for another purpose, after the provincial recognition of the new Mexican government, but for some unknown reason it was taken over by the padres to serve as the book of baptisms at the new mission, but the year of the heading differs from the date of the first entry. The *comenzada* date is wanting but would probably be somewhere between August 25 and December 26, probably the latter date.

San Juan Capistrano historically was founded on October 30, 1775, and on this date most of the usual ceremonies were performed, but they were abandoned temporarily on receipt of the news of the Indian massacre at San Diego. The military authorities forbade further work on both San Diego and San Juan Capistrano until conditions became somewhat settled. Later, permission was granted for the work of rebuilding San Diego and for the completion of the work at San Juan Capistrano. In the latter case, Serra participated and opened the books on the last day of the work, November 1, 1776, and this became the deferential and traditional date of the founding.

At Dolores, the *comenzada* date is August 1, 1776, which fits neither the historical founding date of July 26 nor the dedication date of October 9, which was set to satisfy the political and military order to found the presidio first.

Santa Clara was founded on January 12, 1777, but the book of baptisms was not opened until June 6 of the same year, with that as the *comenzada* date, and on the 22nd of the same month the book



of deaths was opened with this as the *comenzada* date, while the book of marriages waited until January 12, 1778, with this as its *comenzada* date.

A similar delay is found at Purisima Concepción where the book of baptisms bears the *comenzada* date of the day of the founding, December 8, 1787, but the book of marriages was opened later with the *comenzada* date of April 11, 1788, and the book of deaths was opened on the following day.

At Santa Cruz, the historical and traditional founding date was August 28, 1791, but the parochial books bear the *comenzada* dates of September 25, of the same year — the day the actual building construction began.

The rapidity with which the first entries in the books were made varies from the same day to over six years, without indication of whether the first entries were of Indians or whites (*razones*). For baptisms, five missions made entries on the day of the opening of the books (San Fernando, San Miguel, San Rafael, Santa Clara, and Santa Ines), five made entries within three weeks (San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, Dolores, Santa Barbara, and Ventura), nine waited from one to six months, with nine months as the longest wait (Sonoma). Two of the first books of baptisms have been lost (San Diego, and San Luis Rey). Marriage entries, as would be expected, were slower in making their appearance — four within two months (San Rafael, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, and Ventura), nine between two and six months, two between six and twelve months, three between one and two years, one over two years (Santa Barbara presidio), and three are lost (San Diego, San Luis Obispo, and San Luis Rey). The first death entry on the same day as the opening of the books was at San Carlos; two were with a two-week's delay (Ventura, and Santa Clara); in ten there was a delay of between one and six months; one between one and two years (Purisima); two waited over two years (San Gabriel waited two years and eleven months, and San Diego six years and six months, but the first book was burned in 1775); three books are lost (San Antonio, San Luis Rey, and Soledad).

There are traditions that the *comenzada* dates are the dates of the founding of the missions, that all the books were opened with title pages, that all were opened on the same day, and that all had title pages. The above facts indicate that the *comenzada* dates mean only the dates when the books were opened for entries, that all the title pages were not written on the same day, that all these pages were not written on the day of the founding, and that not all the books had title pages.



*Introduction by*  
GUSTAVE O. ARLT

**I**N COMMERATION of the 190th anniversary of the establishment of the Franciscan Missions in Alta California with the founding on July 16, 1769, of the Mission San Diego de Alcala, we take great pleasure in bringing you this sketchbook of unique charcoal drawings. They were made with loving care over a period of years by Mr. Frank A. Schilling whom members of our Society will remember as the speaker at the January, 1959, meeting.

Mr. Schilling used an interesting process in the production of his sketches. He first photographed the scenes he wished to portray and made 35 mm. Kodachrome slides. Then he projected the slides in the desired size directly on the charcoal paper, roughly outlined the picture and finished it in detail later. This process resulted in pictures that are accurate in perspective as well as in proportion.

While the sketches themselves were all made between 1950 and 1957, many of the photographs were taken long before that, some as early as the 1920s. Mr. Schilling therefore caught many of the Missions in various stages of decay and restoration. In some



instances he shows us the shrines as they look today after they were restored and, by contrast, as they looked in their period of greatest decline. Moreover, he has not confined himself to the chain of California Missions, but has included Franciscan Missions in old and New Mexico as well, and some of the more prominent churches, as for example, the Church of Our Lady, Queen of Angels, commonly called the Old Plaza Church, and the beautiful Chapel on the Warner Ranch.

We propose to publish the complete series of Mr. Schilling's sketches in three consecutive issues of the *QUARTERLY*, in March, June, and September. Most of them have never appeared in print, but a few were used in 1954 on the front covers of *The Academy Scrapbook*, a monthly magazine on church history, published by Msgr. James H. Culleton, Chancellor of the Diocese of Fresno and Monterey.

There are few historic buildings in the world that have been so frequently pictured and described as California's chain of Franciscan Missions. And yet, we never seem to tire of seeing them again and somehow we always find new beauty in them. Mr. Schilling has approached them not only with the eye of the artist but also with that of the Civil Engineer. He has found new perspectives that we may have overlooked and has brought out vistas of lights and shadows in many obscure corners. We may be particularly impressed with his interest in the beautiful old portals and the spectacular grain of the wood in the doors. Or again, we may like his treatment of the mission bells, either individually or in their places in the bell towers. At any rate, there is sufficient novelty in these pictorial treatments to warrant our publication of the whole series.

Tourists from all parts of the world have come for many years to visit these shrines of our California's past. It is one of our great privileges that we may visit them again and again and that such a pilgrimage in our present day is an easy and pleasurable outing. If you have not planned your vacation trip for the coming summer, whether it be of one week or one month, you might consider a historical trek of your own in the footsteps of Fr. Serra and Fr. Crespi. Take the little map in the sketchbook and see how conveniently the missions are spaced — a day's journey apart, for a Franciscan friar stepping briskly along — an hour, more less, today on the freeways, even through traffic.

If your vacation is short, visit only the Missions themselves, beginning in San Diego and finishing in Sonoma. If your time



## Mission Sketchbook

permits, visit also the *asistencias*, the *presidios*, and other adjuncts of the original missions. But in either case, give yourself enough time to study and to appreciate the chapels, the altars, the furnishings, and particularly the works of art — statuary and paintings. The black and gold Madonna at Santa Inez, to mention just one example, is worthy of a place in the greatest art galleries in the world, and yet here it hangs, modestly and rarely visited, in a peaceful shrine just two hours or less from our doors. And when you return home, refreshed and inspired by the beauty and serenity of California's past, you will be grateful anew for the privilege of living in a state that owes its beginning to the pious founders of the Missions.



### THE MISSIONS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA IN THE ORDER OF THEIR FOUNDING

*Compiled from THE NAMES OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS, by J. N. Bowman, which appeared in the December, 1957, Number of this QUARTERLY.*

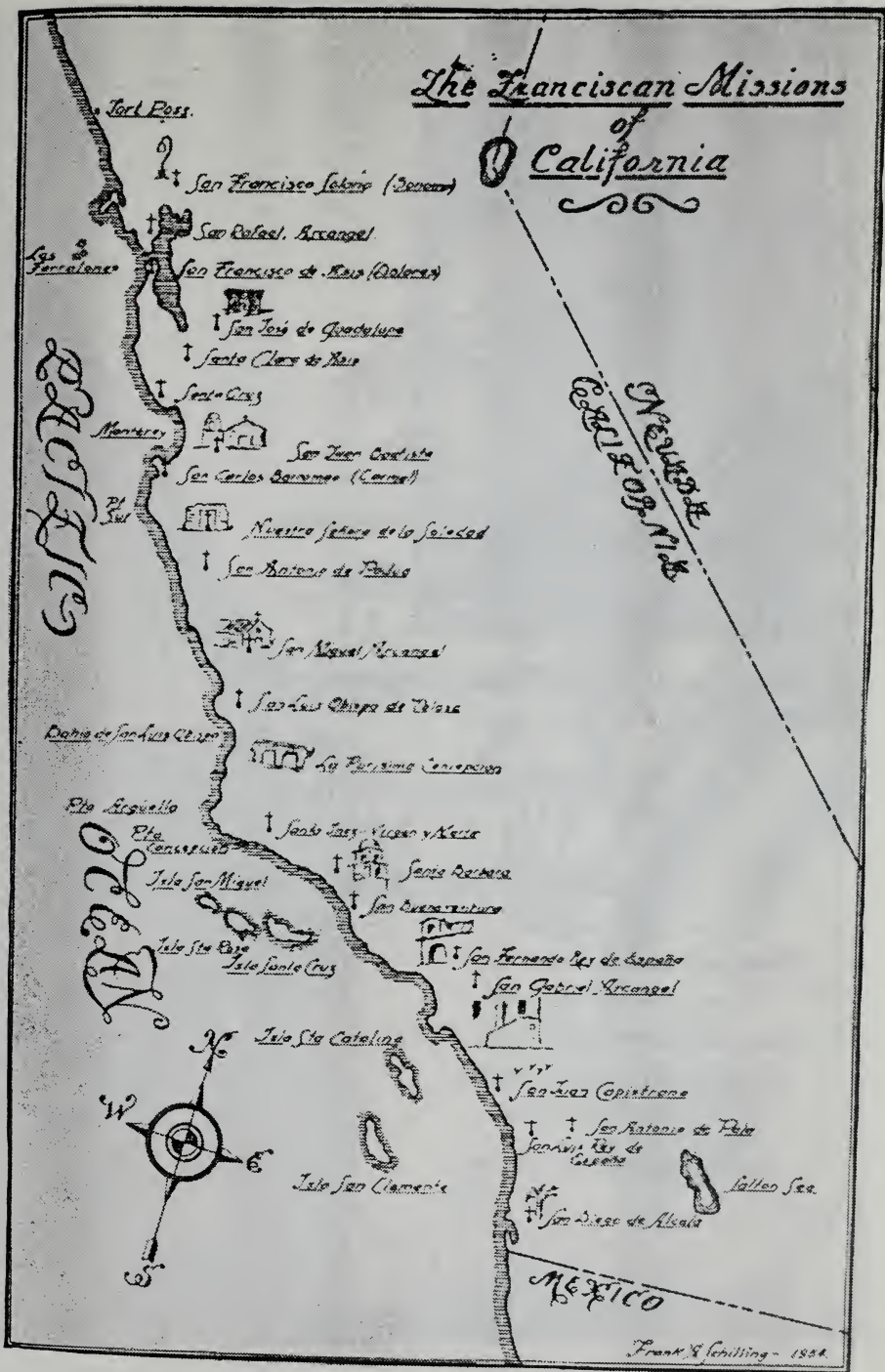
POPULAR NAME	OFFICIAL NAME	FOUNDING DATE
SAN DIEGO	<i>Misión de San Diego de Alcalá</i>	July 16, 1769
CARMEL	<i>Misión de San Carlos del Puerto de Monterey</i>	June 3, 1770
SAN ANTONIO	<i>Misión de San Antonio de Padua</i>	July 14, 1771
SAN GABRIEL	<i>Misión del Santo Principe el Arcángel San Gabriel del los Temblores alias Poviscanga</i>	September 8, 1771
SAN LUIS OBISPO	<i>Misión de San Luis Obispo de Tolosa</i>	September 1, 1772
SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO	<i>Misión de San Juan Capistrano</i>	October 30, 1775 <sup>(1)</sup>
DOLORES	<i>Misión de Nuestro Padre San Francisco</i>	June 28, 1776 <sup>(2)</sup>
SANTA CLARA	<i>Misión de Nuestra Madre Santa Clara</i>	January 12, 1777

# THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

POPULAR NAME	OFFICIAL NAME	FOUNDING DATE
SAN BUENAVENTURA	<i>Misión del Glorioso Obispo Cardinal y Doctor Serafico de la Ylasia San Buenaventura</i>	March 31, 1782
SANTA BARBARA	<i>Misión de la Señora Santa Barbara Virgin y Martir</i>	December 4, 1786
PURISIMA CONCEPCION	<i>Misión de la Purisima Concepcion de la Santissima Virgen Maria</i>	December 8, 1787
SANTA CRUZ	<i>Misión de Santa Cruz</i>	August 28, 1791
SOLEDAD	<i>Misión de Maria Santissima Nuestra Señora de la Soledad</i>	October 9, 1791
SAN JOSE	<i>Misión Gloriossimo Patriarcho Señor Joseph</i>	June 11, 1797
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA	<i>Misión de San Bautista Precursor de Jesus Christ</i>	June 24, 1797
SAN MIGUEL	<i>Misión del Gloriossimo Principe Arcángel Señor San Miguel</i>	July 25, 1797
SAN FERNANDO	<i>Misión de Señor San Fernando Rey de España</i>	September 8, 1797
SAN LUIS REY	<i>Misión de San Luis Rey de Francia</i>	June 13, 1798
SANTA INEZ	<i>Misión de la Señora Santa Ines Virgin y Martir</i>	September 17, 1804
SAN RAFAEL	<i>Misión de el Glorioso Principe San Rafael Arcángel</i>	December 14, 1817
SONOMA	<i>Misión de San Francisco Solano</i>	July 4, 1823

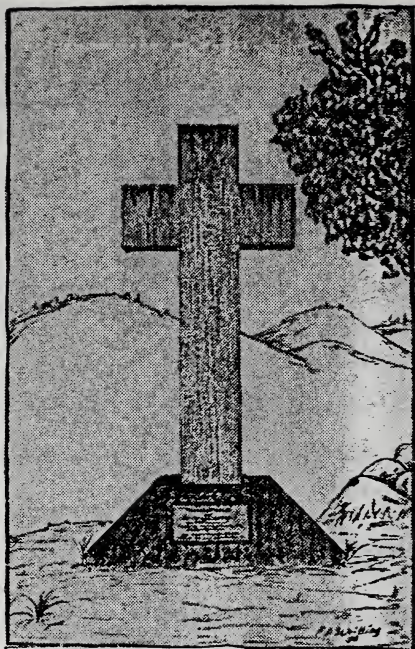
(1) Historical date of founding, October 30, 1775, however Mission records and books were not opened until November 1, 1776. See Bowman, J. N., *The Names of the California Missions*, December, 1957, Number of this QUARTERLY (Vol. XXXIX, No. 4.)

(2) Dolores Mission also has conflicting dates as to its founding. See Bowman, J. N., *The Names of the California Missions*, December, 1947, Number of this QUARTERLY (Vol. XXXIX, No. 4.)



FATHER SERRA'S ROSARY





MONUMENT TO CALIFORNIA'S  
MARTYR FR. LUIS JAYME

*The inscription reads:*

*IN MEMORY*

*to*

*Padre Luis Jayme*

*First California Martyr*

*Who was killed November 4, 1775*

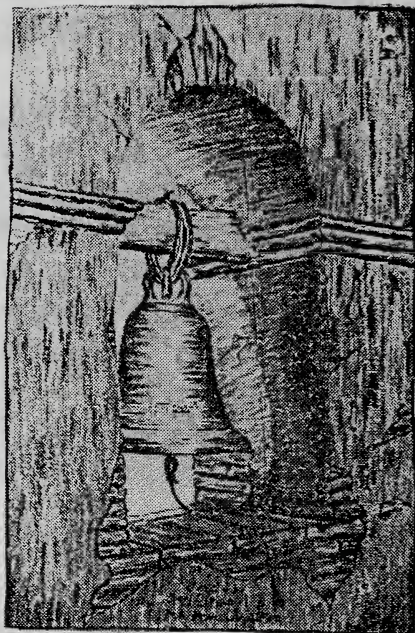
*By Indians on this spot.*

*Erected and dedicated September 18, 1924*

*By the Native Sons and Daughters*

*Of the Golden West.*

(Photographed October 11, 1942.)



BELL AT SAN DIEGO

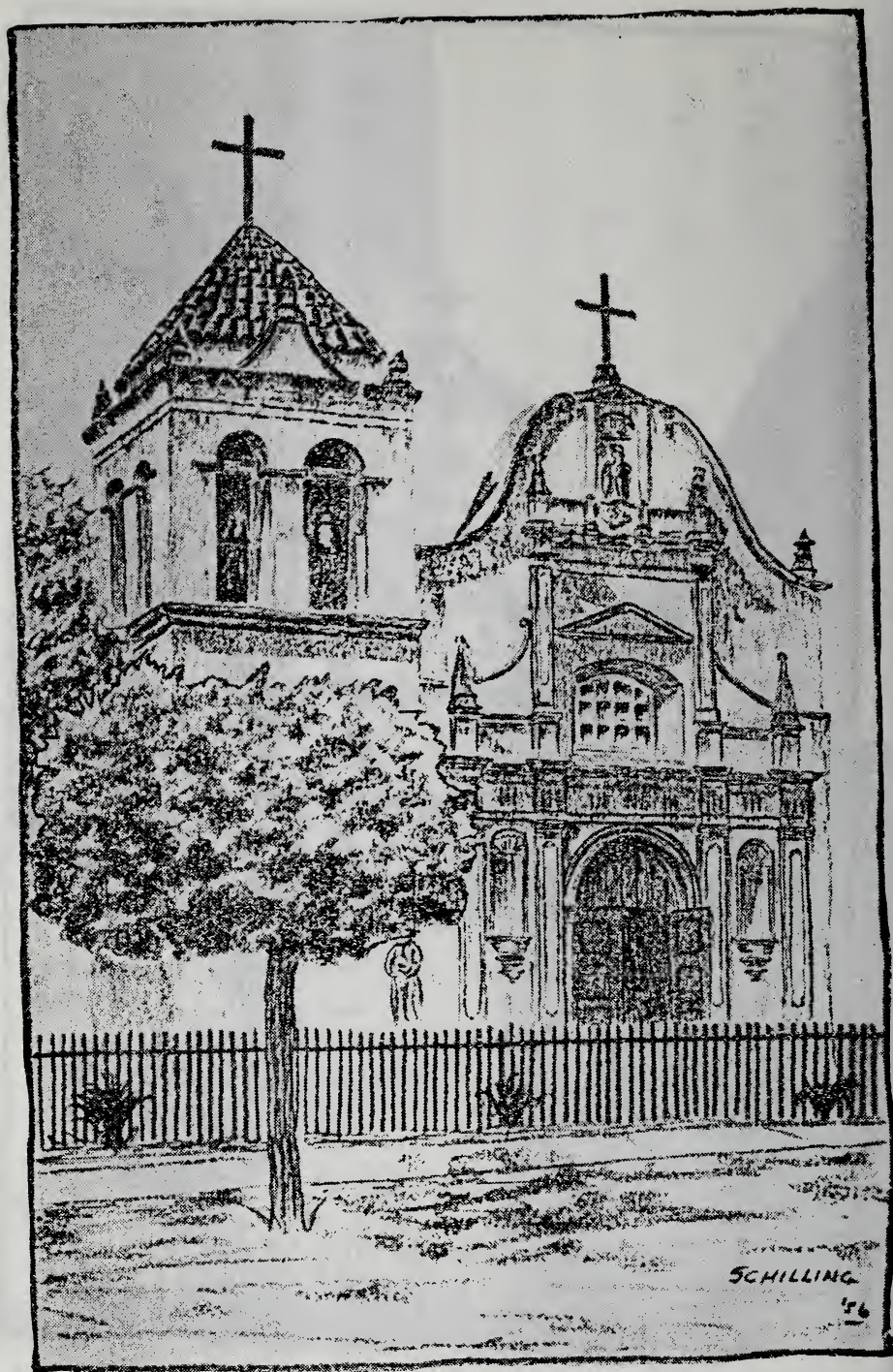
(Photographed October 11, 1942.)



SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ

(Photographed October 11, 1942.)





LA CAPILLA REAL DEL PRESIDIO

(Photographed November 28, 1953.)





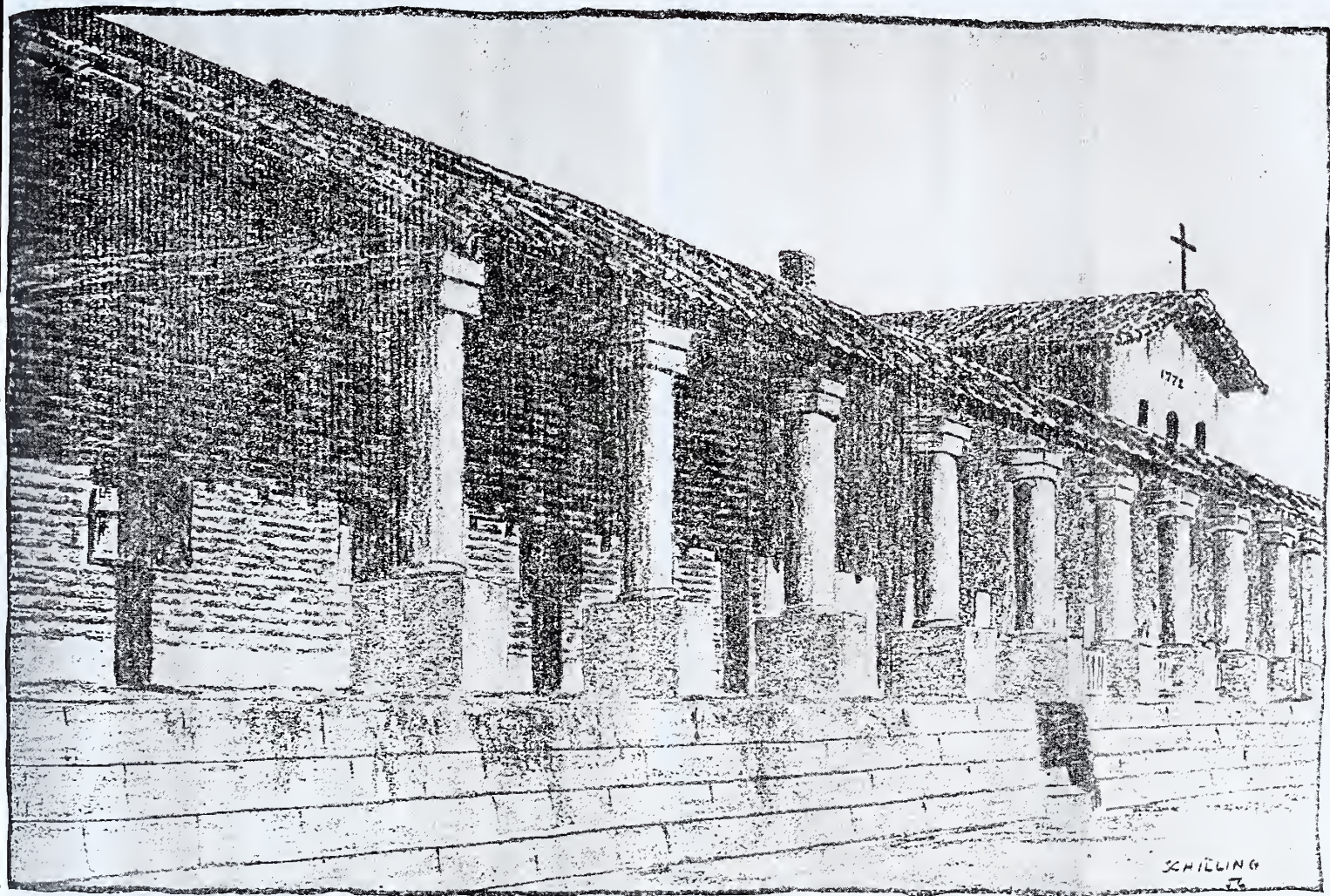




LA CAPILLA REAL DEL PRESIDIO

(Photographed November 28, 1953.)





MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA  
*In the Valley of the Bears*  
(Photographed November 27, 1953.)



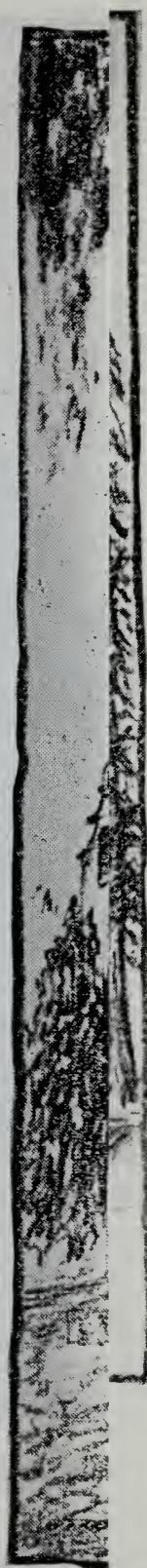


MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO  
(Photographed in 1928.)





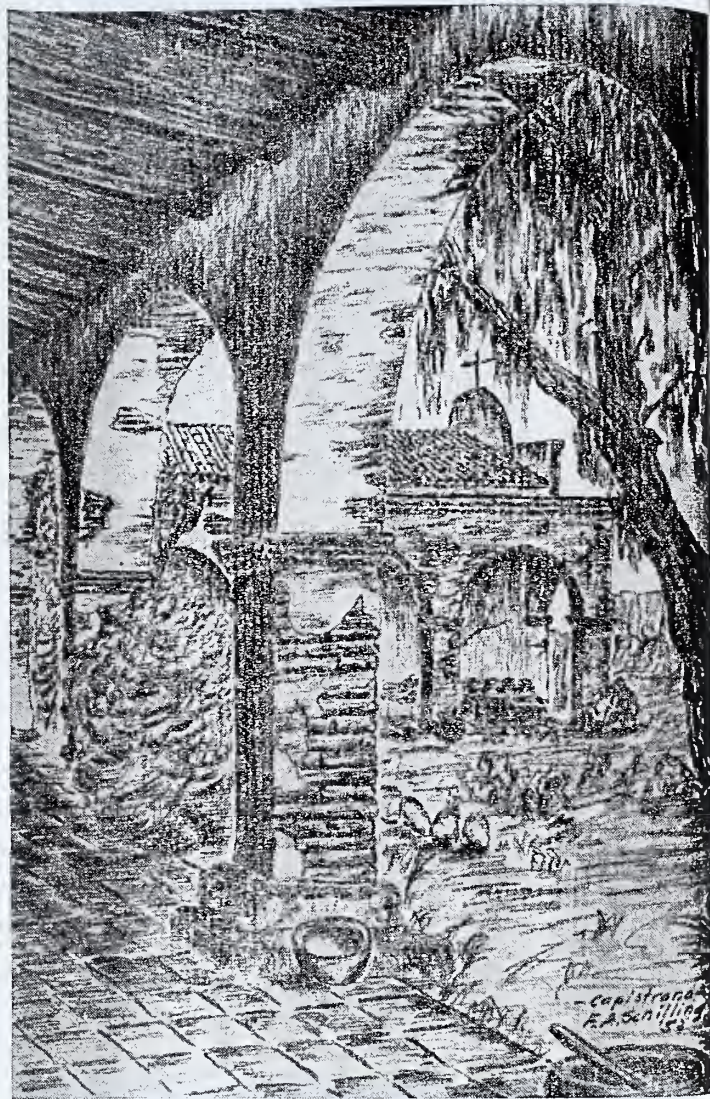
SCHILLING  
'55





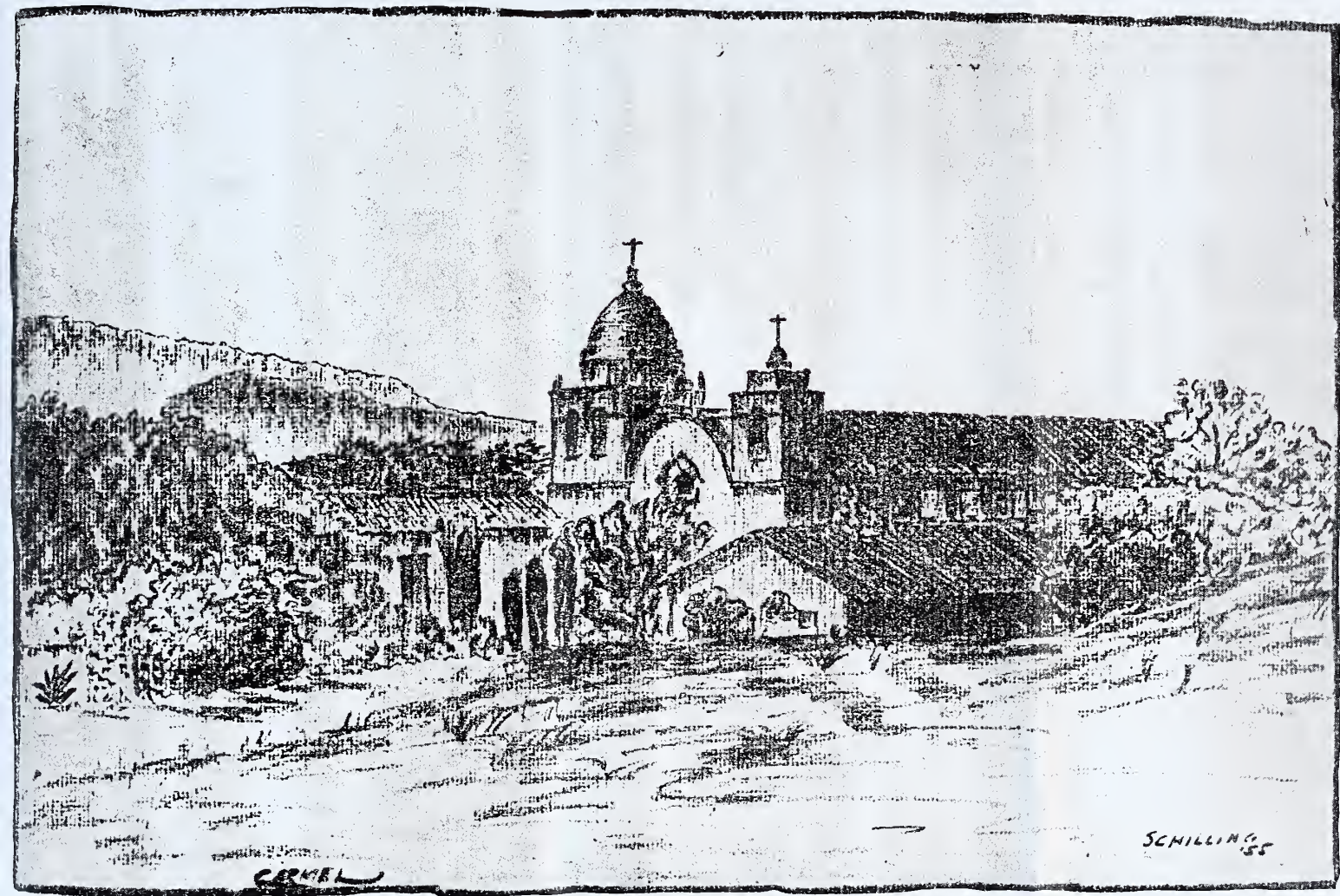


MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS  
(Photographed September 28, 1941.)



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO  
(Photographed in 1928.)

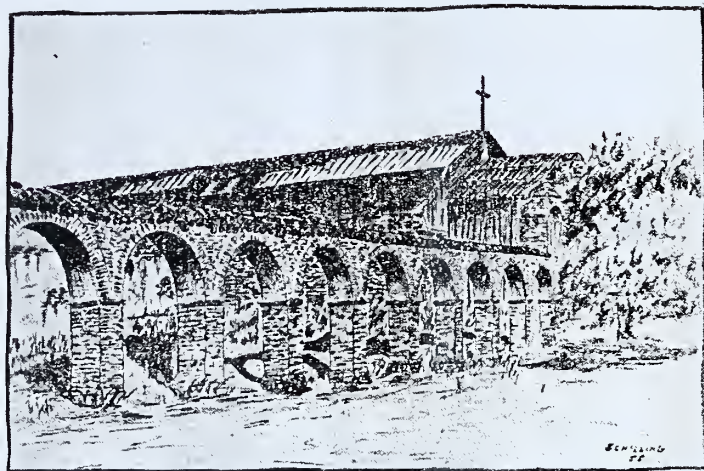




SAN CARLOS BORROMEIO  
*Carmel*

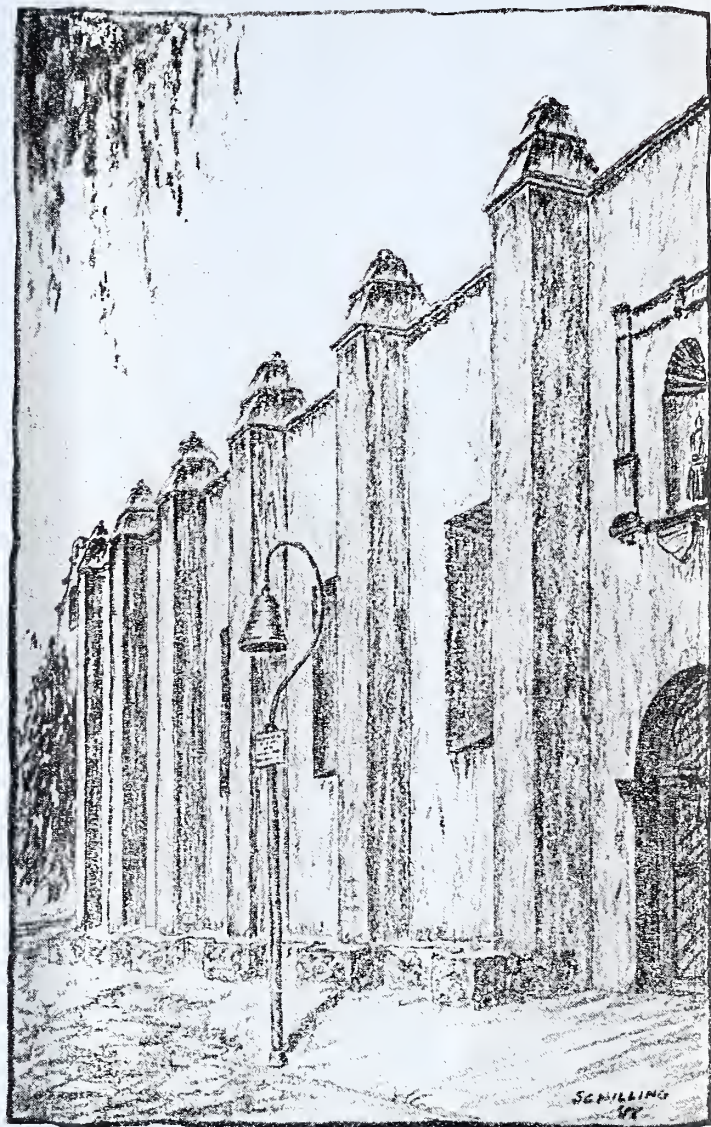
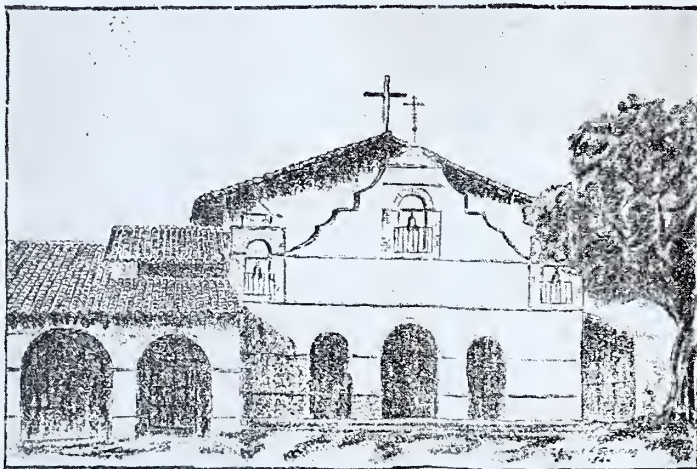
(Photographed November 28, 1853.)





SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA  
*The Mission in the Sierras*

(Ruins, top drawing, photographed November 21, 1940;  
Restored church, November 27, 1953.)



SAN GABRIEL ARCANGEL  
(Photographed December 21, 1941.)





MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA  
(Photographed in 1956.)





MISSION SANTA BARBARA  
(Photographed January 12, 1941.)

# Dr. Philip Seman

By Marco R. Newmark

My esteemed friend, the late Philip Seman, P.H.D., was our fellow member in the *Historical Society of Southern California*. Dr. Seman was a distinguished scholar, author and civic leader. He was married on July 28, 1907, to Beatrice Prigozen.

He was nationally known for his work in the fields of social service and adult education. He planted the spark of learning in many of our young people as the director and guiding spirit of the Jewish Community Center of Chicago for thirty-two years. He taught for many years in the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago.

In 1946 Dr. and Mrs. Seman came to Los Angeles where he served on the Board of Directors and taught at the University of Judaism of Los Angeles.

Dr. Seman was Literary Editor of the *Jewish Heritage* of Los Angeles and Associate Editor of the *Youth Leaders' Digest*.

Dr. Seman's ability soon won for him the recognition of our community. Dr. Seman served as an influential member of the Board of the Southern California Jewish Historical Society, of Los Angeles.

Dr. Seman wrote a number of books, among which were the following: *Jewish Community Centers in Action* (1921); *Education and the Jewish Community Life* (1924); *The Jewish Community Center* (1926); *The Problem of the Leisure Hour* (1927); and *Training for Community Leadership* (1928).

Dr. Seman was indeed an asset to our Community. His host of friends were deeply grieved when they learned that on September 25, 1958, he had passed from labor.



# Book Reviews

*THE MALIBU*, by W. W. Robinson and Lawrence Clark Powell, with illustrations in color by Irene Robinson. (Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, 1958). Pp 86; 7½"x10"; folding map; cloth binding. Limited Printing of 320 copies, each numbered and signed by the authors, illustrator, and printers. Available in principal public libraries.

The *genius loci* has inspired many writers through the ages. Cloud rack on the mountains, the crash of breakers on shingly beaches, the tinkle of hidden waters in canyons — these have power to evoke moods over and beyond their physical aspects. Mr. Robinson, Doctor Powell and their artist collaborator, Irene Robinson, prove in "The Malibu" that they have fallen under the spell of that western strip of Los Angeles County's coast.

The authors divided their labors between Will Robinson's history of the region and a series of short essays on Larry Powell's reactions to life as viewed from his home just above the surf. From the nature of these separate themes, the first part is mainly factual and the second more subjective. Yet the historian can be philosophic when he recalls the days and ways of the extinct Chumash Indian inhabitants. On the other hand, no writer could be more objective than the essayist when he tells in "Fire On The Mailbu" of that ghastly smoke-filled Christmas night when he and his wife fought with their backs to the narrow beach to save their home with its treasures of books, pictures and music.

Will Robinson is never redundant and here he has compressed within several pages all the changes wrought by man's occupancy in a little more than two centuries. These are not just the bare bones of facts about titles and litigation but a swiftly running narrative of many eras. We learn that the Malibu was originally Maliwu and that no man can surely say what either word means. The writer brings to life all the people who lived and worked there — ancient Chumash and Spanish, French and Irish successors down to the typically American Rindges from New England.

Larry Powell's host of readers are so accustomed to his South-western desert moods that they may be surprised to find that here he has undergone a sea change. From "our watery front yard, disturbed by the westerly" he contrasts lovingly the mountains, deserts and cities of his affection with the neighboring Pacific. Poetry of the sea, ocean voyages he has known and the story of how the Powells found the Malibu and what it means to them follow easily.

With the same charm and crisp figure we have come to expect in his writing, Dr. Powell soon becomes immersed in his beloved books. Some are about the Malibu but Mary Austin seems just as at home here as in her "Land Of Little Rain" and Robinson Jeffers on his own more northerly foreland is still remembered.

Neither of these writers leave the reader with the feeling that their book contains all they could say on this subject. Certainly it is anything but over-written. As befits such fine content, Dawson's Book Shop has presented it in a format to delight the eye. Binding, paper, print and above all Mrs. Robinson's lovely illustrations do great credit to the publisher and Saul and Lillian Marks of the Plantin Press. This deluxe volume should win honors in any competition of fine books. It is to be hoped that a trade edition will be issued so that more readers may become acquainted with "The Malibu". — *Dwight L. Clarke.*

LIBROS CALIFORNIANOS. *Or Five Feet of California Books*, by Phil Townsend Hanna. *Revised and Enlarged* by Lawrence Clark Powell (Los Angeles, Printed for Zeitlin and Verbrugge by Anderson, Ritchie, and Simon, 1958.) Pp. ii, 87, \$7.50)

Twenty-eight years ago *Westways* editor, Phil Townsend Hanna, compiled a listing of twenty-five books of commanding interest and value to the study of California. It was printed under the same title as this revised edition. He attached to it three other lists of relatively similar length drawn up by Leslie E. Bliss, Robert E. Cowan, and Henry R. Wagner. Now Lawrence Clark Powell has updated this small book by inviting Glen Dawson and Warren R. Howell to submit their choices of the best Californian. Dr. Powell is well known to members of the society. Powell has also added his own list, as well as a new preface, to Hanna's original work.

The result is a tastefully printed volumette concerned exclusively with books about California. Of course, not everyone would agree completely with each choice on any one, or possibly all, of the lists. As the compilers themselves would surely agree, other selections of significant books of equal validity could be made, depending upon the criteria of choice. It is easy for all of us to point out the gaps in these lists. Despite limitations of space, it is a bit painful not to see the names of significant interpreters of California like Atherton, Ellison, Goodwin, Lyman, Ogden, Powers, Richman, and Watson. In the field of literature, important novels, often reflecting the basic violence, tension, and social discord in California's more modern past, are not chosen. There is no trace of Jack London or Frank Norris. Steinbeck appears; Saroyan does not. In poetry



Jeffers, quite appropriately, is listed; George Sterling is not. In photography Edward Weston appears; Ansel Adams does not. An anthology by Joseph Henry Jackson is listed but there is no mention of Helen Hunt Jackson. Some specialists might substitute still another woman novelist, Mary Austen, for Judy Van der Veer. But it is easy to quarrel with choices; the difficult task is to limit one's favorites by selectivity. Perhaps such an effort as this points up the exasperations of an excessively selective bibliography.

The book itself states that in the lists submitted by Bliss and Cowan hardly more than five or six titles are valuable to the student, and few can be of interest to the general reader. To some extent this is also true of the Wagner, Dawson, and Howell lists. These strongly reflect choices made on the basis of rarity. Powell's list attempts to bridge the gap from 1932-1957 and admittedly reflects strongly the "flourishing of scholarship in Southern California during this period."

It is, incidentally, a curious fact that professional academic historians in California have not generally busied themselves with publishing bibliographies or reading lists such as this one. They have left this responsibility to "professional amateurs" like Hanna, Wagner, Cowan, Layne, and Wheat; to booksellers like Dawson and Howell; and to devoted librarians like Powell and Bliss. Perhaps the academic historian's lack of participation in such bibliographic projects has been caused by an increasing preoccupation and growing interest in assembling the themes of history rather than its sources. In the Southwest the professional historian has also tended at times to move away from local and regional history toward a national, and even international, focus. Perhaps World War II and the problems of the postwar period have encouraged this tendency. In any case, historians, as members of a guild devoted also to bookish matters, should be grateful to men like Hanna and Powell for their service in the cause of regional culture. We should include thanks for the exquisite good taste of publishers like Jake Zeitlin and printers like Ward Ritchie, who executed this graciously printed little yellow and red bound book. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

JOURNEY THROUGH THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND THE HUMBOLDT MOUNTAINS TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, by Jacob H. Schiel, *translated* from the German and *edited* by Thomas N. Bonner. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955.) xxi, 114 pp., map, illustrations, index. \$3.75.

By publishing — as volume twenty-seven in its American Exploration and Travel Series — Professor Bonner's readable translation of a little book overlooked for a century even in the author's

### *Book Reviews*

homeland, University of Oklahoma Press has made another worthwhile contribution to the prime source on our early American West.

Oddly, the translator discovered the work only recently while researching German-American medical relations of the nineteenth century. This came about because Schiel, a Heidelberg geologist with no special training in medicine, served not only as geologist but also as official surgeon to the Gunnison Expedition sent out from Westport, Missouri, in 1853 to explore a railroad route to the Pacific.

The German's life was saved when, after his horse became disabled, he had to turn back from that ill-fated portion of the expedition under Captain Gunnison which was wiped out in an Indian massacre. Schiel continued with the remainder of the expedition under Lieutenant Beckwith and reached California the following year after wintering at Salt Lake.

In the disconnected fashion of a journal, Schiel writes about anything he fancies. He is, first of all, interested in the geology of the route. His comments in this field are not often meaningful for the layman and in the opening pages they are apt to dull the interest of the general reader. If, however, one plows ahead he finds the account beginning to fascinate him, and soon he discovers how to chloroform a snake, say farewell to a Comanche, catch a prairie dog and kill a grizzly bear. There is light humor even in Schiel's consistent failure to locate the incidents he relates. Interesting, too, is the writer's accurate forecast of the disappearance of the buffalo from our Western plains.

Throughout, Schiel's comments are influenced by the outlook of his own culture. Some of his sharpest barbs are aimed at the Mormons, who so intrigued him that he devotes a lengthy discourse to them but whose accomplishments and viewpoints he appeared totally unable to appreciate.

The California reader will wait in vain for an adequate description of his own region. Despite reference to the Pacific in the lengthy title of Schiel's journal, the Gunnison-Beckwith Expedition actually never reached the coastal area. After his digression on the Mormons the author appeared too exhausted to extend his account to those experiences he did undergo in California.

Fifteen drawings in the volume are the work of a young contemporary Oklahoman, Joe Beeler, whose art reflects understanding for the spirit of the men and animals of the early West.—*Robert W. King.*



THE CALIFORNIAS, 1846-1957, by Philip S. Rush. With an *Introduction, Chronological Summary, Population Statistics, List of Governors and United States Senators, List of Governors of the Northern District of Baja California, and Index by Names and Places of California*. (San Diego, California, The Southern California Rancher, published, 1957). Pp. 166; 6"x9" printed on enamel book paper to accommodate many fine half-tone illustrations. Cloth. \$6.00.

Philip S. Rush established *The Southern California Rancher*, a monthly farm magazine, in 1936. He soon learned that his regular readers were interested in the history of their homeland nearly as much as they were interested in farm conditions and present-day problems. So early in the life of the *Rancher*, Mr. Rush began devoting liberal space to historical articles and features. This book, *The Californias, 1846-1957*, is the second volume that editor Rush has put together out of his magazine's historical features. The first book, *Historical Sketches of the Californias*, was published in 1953 and has enjoyed good acceptance throughout the state as well as in Baja California.

The present volume is interestingly written in concise, fast-moving "newspaper" style without the use of footnotes or references but with an authoritative positiveness which shows the author has spent many hours in checking and ascertaining his facts. However, in the *Introduction* he cites his general sources by name of historian, author, or published work.

One of the most interesting features of this book is the daring with which the author moves into comparatively recent history in his challenging chapters on "The Age of Flying," "World War I," "World War II," "Japanese Submarines Along the Coast," and "The Korean War." In these chapters he records many events about which there is general knowledge but the actual details of which are still locked in the "secret" files of the War and Navy Departments.

Author Rush digs up old personalities, too, and reintroduces them to present-day readers. His chapter on William Walker and his filibustering expeditions into Mexico and Central America is one example. His chapter on farming is worthy of the farm editor. In it he reveals that the combine-harvester and the caterpillar tractor (the daddy of the military tank) were both California inventions and products of our factories which have played an important part in the industrialization of the American farm.

This author seems to take the reader out of the city and returns him to the land with his chapters on oil, earthquakes, water development, and the development of the Imperial Valley. Hundreds of interesting historical facts are interwoven through these 166 pages which makes this book a valued volume for any historical library.

—Lorrin L. Morrison.

## *Activities of the Society*

### JANUARY MEETING

The first meeting of the year 1959 found us at the Los Angeles County Museum on Thursday evening, January 13, with President Gustave O. Arlt presiding and with Mr. Frank A. Schilling as guest speaker upon the "Military Posts of the Old Frontier (1850 to 1890)" illustrated with slides. Mr. Schilling entertained a good sized audience with his story of what took place in the early days of the Southwest. At the refreshment tables Mrs. John C. Wolfskill and Mrs. Everett Gordon Hager presided at the urns. The following persons signed the register:

Frank L. Robinson  
 Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun  
 Mrs. M. Gristock  
 Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Chapman  
 J. Murray Watkins  
 Frank B. Putnam  
 Mrs. Gerard Krythe  
 Elmer C. Weber  
 Harold L. Briggs  
 Mr. and Mrs. Norris Bostwick  
 Marguerite Arlotto  
 Mr. and Mrs. John C. Wolfskill  
 Miss Dora M. Robbins  
 H. W. Schramm  
 A. C. Wheat  
 William A. Grupe  
 Helen B. Walters  
 Dr. Irving R. Bancroft  
 Alice Sturdy  
 Vira M. Grupe  
 Mame E. Goodell  
 Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop  
 Larry Northrop  
 Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Perret  
 Mrs. Frank B. Duncan  
 Max Brannan  
 R. W. King  
 Lorrin L. Morrison  
 Brother Cassian Miller, C.S.C.

Brother Charles Escabar, C.S.C.  
 Brother Alfred W. Salz, C.S.C.  
 Mr. and Mrs. Otto J. Zahn  
 Belle F. Siegel  
 James P. Devere  
 John Dunkel  
 D. I. Worsfold  
 Herbert Morley  
 Mrs. B. Sabichi Mitchell  
 Blanche Davenport  
 Mr. and Mrs. Everett G. Hager  
 Dr. and Mrs. E. R. Pascoe  
 Mr. and Mrs. Martin E. Fuller  
 Mort Berman  
 Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Colman  
 Mr. and Mrs. Paul C. Scanlon  
 J. A. Grienger  
 Isaline M. Yule  
 Eda K. Smith  
 Dr. and Mrs. Robert L. Borland  
 Ernest G. McCabe  
 Thomas Q. Lempertz  
 Clara LaTetra Darling  
 Ransom Matthews  
 Mr. and Mrs. Russell E. Belous  
 H. J. Grande  
 L. C. Hyman  
 Peg Cassidy

### FEBRUARY MEETING

Our second meeting found us again devoting the evening to American History with our two top officers presenting different



phases of the life of Abraham Lincoln. Vice-President Justin G. Turner, who is chairman of the Board of the *Lincoln Sesquicentennial Association of California*, and President Arlt, a member of the Association's Advisory Committee, provided most interesting talks upon the subject in which they are so well versed. Many questions arose from the audience showing the interest aroused and the questions were easily disposed of. During the refreshment hour that followed Mrs. Thos. E. Workman and Mrs. A. S. Chapman served at the urn and the register recorded the persons present as follows:

Ruth I. Mahood	Belle F. Siegel
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman	Helen Walters
Dr. and Mrs. Robert L. Borland	Mildred Pearce
Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun	Elaine Speiser
Maurice Turner	Mame E. Goodell
Robert W. King	Mrs. Frank B. Duncan
Mr. and Mrs. Everett G. Hager	Mrs. John Sperrett
Mr. and Mrs. R. Belous	Edward A. Speiser
Mr. and Mrs. C. Ganahl	Grace Ridgway Ruhamah
Mr. and Mrs. Banning Garrett	Iris H. Wilson
James P. Devere	Mr. and Mrs. John C. Wolfskill
Mr. and Mrs. Norris Bostwick	Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Burgess
Mrs. Walter K. Towers	Eugene Ramstedt
Whitney K. Towers	Jake Zeitlin
Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Robinson	Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Ralston
Mr. and Mrs. Guy E. Marion	Mr. and Mrs. James A. Withers
Frank L. Robinson	Frank B. Putnam
Lorrin L. Morrison	Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Jenkins
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop	Nick Van Leuven
Justin Turner	Mrs. Cecil Otho Dale
Maurice Turner	Elmer C. Weber
Jean Hall Giles	Joseph C. Harker
John W. A. Off, Jr.	W. Ronald Copp
Dr. and Mrs. E. R. Pascoe	Mr. and Mrs. Otto J. Zahn
Alice Sturdy	Dudley C. Gordon
Mr. and Mrs. George B. Varnum	Peg Cassidy
Martin E. Fuller	

## MARCH MEETING

As a year ago again the Society held its third meeting at the Southwest Museum with Director Carl S. Dentzel speaking upon "The Indian and the Pioneer Frontier." Director Dentzel's treatment looked upon the subject from early New England, New York and Pennsylvania, West and Southwest, as well as Northwest regions and treated the subject with special relation to the different nationalities involved as English, French, Dutch, Swedish, Russian and others, pointing out the different treatment accorded the Indians and their reactions to each treatment. It was a very stimulating talk and held the large audience in rapt attention. The reported

## *Activities of the Society*

number present was 182 as announced in the meeting. Mesdames Carl Dentzel, E. F. Ducommun, Jean Hall Giles and Otto J. Zahn alternated as hostesses at the coffee urns.

The following members and guests signed the Register:

Jean Hall Giles	Mr. and Mrs. Donald Lush
J. Thomas Owen	Mrs. John A. Stransky, Jr.
William M. Mason	Mame E. Goodell
Mrs. Joseph Brown, Jr.	Mr. and Mrs. Christopher A. Young
George A. V. Dunning	Mrs. F. B. Duncan
Ralph O. Chick	Mrs. J. P. Sperrett
Mr. and Mrs. Alex MacKenzie	Elmer C. Weber
Mr. and Mrs. Moris B. Friesch	Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Murphy
Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Yorba	Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Perret
Mrs. B. Sabichi Mitchell	Mr. and Mrs. Myron Nutting
H. J. Grande	Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman
Ruth and Chuck Powell	Thomas Q. Lempertz
Ray Howard	Mrs. S. L. Kreider
Frank B. Putnam	Mr. and Mrs. Norris Bostwick
Mrs. M. Gristock	Maybell W. Rich
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop	Zilla C. Graves
Dr. and Mrs. Robert L. Borland	John W. A. Off, Jr.
Isaline M. Yule	Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun
Eda K. Smith	Dorothy Dobbins Freeman
Clara LaTetra Darling	Marion Leffingwell Sanford
P. H. Ackerman	Mrs. Theodore Chapin
D. I. Worsfold	Mae Darling
Mr. and Mrs. Joaquin Hernandez	Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Freeman
William Menton	Mr. and Mrs. Raymond K. Morrison
Charles Rozaire	Mr. and Mrs. Julio Mendoza
Mr. and Mrs. Ernest J. Yorba	Mrs. Diana Peplow
Mr. and Mrs. John W. Snyder	Mrs. Adeline Coombs Pauling
Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Sutton	Mrs. Jessie B. Morton
Carman K. MacFarland	Frank L. Robinson
Mr. and Mrs. Carter Ludlow	Mr. and Mrs. Louis B. Slichter
Belle F. Siegel	Mrs. Mar Carvell
Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Matthews	Mrs. Cecil Otho Dale
Mrs. Varick D. Martin, Jr.	Mrs. Ernst V. Neumann
Mrs. Forrest Stanton	Anna M. Neumann
Dr. and Mrs. R. C. Gillingham	Mrs. Gregory Groff
Mr. and Mrs. Everett G. Hager	Joseph C. Harker
Mr. and Mrs. Ransom W. Chase	Flora B. Houston
Mrs. Leo Verdugo	L. Frances Bailey
Miss Phyllis Verdugo	Mrs. Phillipine Runnings
Mrs. Lillian L. Carig	Marsha Runnings
Dr. Irving R. Bancroft	Mrs. Gerard Krythe
H. A. Putnam	Elna Van Essen
Herbert Morley	Gary Van Essen
Mr. and Mrs. C. Ganahl	James T. Clayton
Mrs. Charles Paul West	Helen B. Walters
Mrs. Alan Rowe	Neil A. Skinner
Katharine Rowe	Mr. and Mrs. Victor H. Schoffelmayer
Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Craib	Mr. and Mrs. Dudley C. Gordon
Miss Alice Runnings	Helen Woodward
Leonard H. Dore	D. D. Woodward
Mr. and Mrs. James E. Serven	Mr. and Mrs. Otto Johann Zahn
Mr. and Mrs. Guy E. Marion	Rev. Philip Conneally, S.J.
Mr. and Mrs. Don Meadows	Peg Cassidy



## Gifts to the Society

*In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.*

*The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.*

*Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.*

MARCO R. NEWMARK,  
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

MRS. W. A. ALLEN, North Hollywood (Much of material from MRS. A. S. C. FORBES): *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon, (S.A. & H. Oddt & Co., Oxford Street, London, 1808) 7 volumes. *Library of American History* by America's Leading Authors, (Washington, D.C., American History Society, 1900.) DeLuxe Edition limited to 2,000 sets, in 6 volumes. *Rollin's Ancient History* by M. Rollin, translated from French, (Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Convent Garden, 1850) 2 volumes in one binding. *The British Colonies* by R. M. Martin, (London Printing & Publishing Company, not dated) 5 volumes with maps and plates. A notebook in pencil and ink covering many local subjects. *History of San Bernardino Valley from the Padres to the Pioneers 1810-1851*, by Rev. Father Juan Caballeria (Times Index Press, 1902). *The First 100 Years of City of Los Angeles, 1850, 1950*. Mayor Bowron's Yearbook for 1949. *California Review*, April, 1904 issue. *Outwest Magazine*, 3 copies, June 1902, idem, Dec., 1903. *Overland Monthly*, 3 copies, April, May, November, 1902. *Topographical chart* of route taken by Gen. Kearny from Santa Fe to Los Angeles 1846 and indicating battlefields of San Pascaul and La Mesa. *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California*. (Louis Lewin & Co., 14 Spring Street, 1876.) *El Camino Real, Los Angeles Section*. (indicates location of all bells), (El Camino Real Association, December 31, 1910.) *California's Yesterdays Along El Camino Real* by A. Harvey Collins (a reprint from our QUARTERLY.) *Los Angeles Times Fiftieth Anniversary Edition*, December 4, 1931, Section 6 from Midwinter Number 47th Annual. *The Land of Sunshine*, February 1896, Vol. IV, No. 3. *The Californian*, January 22, 1916, Vol. XII, No. 10. The Spanish Number. *California History Nugget*, Volumes I, II, III, and VI, No. 3 (broken set). *Historical Society of Southern California ANNUALS* for 1891, Vol. II, Part 1; 1919, Vol. XI, Part 2; 1920, Vol. XI, Part 3; 1923, Vol. XII, Part 3; 1924, Vol. XIII, Part 1; 1927, Vol. XIII, Part 4; 1929, Vol. XIV, Part 2; 1931, Vol. XV, Part 1. *Historical Society*

## *Gifts to the Society*

of *Southern California* QUARTERLY — Vol. XVII, Nos. 1, 4; Vol. XXV, No. 4; Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Vol. XVII, No. 4; Vol. XXVIII, No. 3. Miscellaneous clippings from files of Mrs. A. S. C. Forbes: "Juan Flaco 'Lean John' Los Angeles to San Francisco," 650 miles in four days; "Kit Carson," file of clippings and pictures; "Jededia Smith and sister Mrs. Eunice Smith Simons," photo and negative. File on "John Temple . . . Los Cerritos Adobe"; "The Famous California Missions" by Mrs. A. S. C. Forbes from *The West Coast Magazine*, July, 1907; "The Los Angeles Plaza," by Mrs. A. S. C. Forbes, October 29, 1927; Los Angeles When it Was the "City of Vines"; Mission San Juan Capistrano; Gold Discovery in Placerita Canyon; Mission Santa Barbara; envelope of miscellaneous clippings.

MRS. MARIE LOUISE SANTOUS CANET: "*Fifty Years of Masonry in California*" by Edwin A. Sherman, 33° (George Spaulding & Co. 1898) Volumes I and II.

ANNA IRENE JENKINS, Librarian of *Los Angeles Kindergarten Memorial Library*: Pamphlet "History of the Kindergarten Movement in the Western States, Hawaii and Alaska."

JOSEPH LABARBARA: pamphlet "*William Heath Davis and the Founding of American San Diego*," by Andrew F. Rolle. Reprint from *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1. "Tales of the Southwest," by Barry Storm.

GUY E. MARION: Set of 50 clippings from *Los Angeles Times* entitled "Rediscovering Los Angeles" by Timothy G. Turner and Charles H. Owens, unmounted; Five pamphlets of the Title Insurance & Trust series by W. W. Robinson, (two) Inglewood, Long Beach, Pasadena, Santa Monica. Several copies of *The Dana Magazine* containing "A Short Autobiography of the World," condensed by John Herman and Jan Havlasa—31 chapters, issues 1940 to 1944. A.L.A. Handbook, 1930, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, November, 1930. Charging box, with cards, for use in the library; RotoDex for telephone numbers (desk size) used for many years by donor at the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

MARCO R. NEWMARK: Commercial announcement of M. A. Newmark & Co. concerning cigars and tobacco; Academy Scrapbook, (September, 1951) published by the Academy of California Church History.

MR. C. F. OUTLAND, *Ventura County Historical Society*: A set of pictures of the early irrigation system in San Fernando Valley after aqueduct was completed.

ANDREW F. ROLLE: "*William Heath Davis and the Founding of American San Diego*," by Andrew F. Rolle (reprint from *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1.)

MRS. EDWARD V. SALITORE: *California Information and Almanac*, 1958.

FRANK A. SCHILLING: Broken file of "*The Masterkey*" published by Southwest Museum, September, 1932 to November-December, 1958; Incomplete



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

lot of "*Touring Topics*" later becoming "*Westways*" published by Automobile Club of Southern California from 1930 to 1958.

BARRY STORM: Book: "Tales of the Southwest."

J. B. VAN NUYS: "The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft" in 39 volumes. (The History Company, San Francisco, 1886.) three-quarter leather, marbled end papers and edges.

## *Notes from the Secretary*

During the three months covered in this Quarterly invitations have been sent to all the names used for the banquet notices and also the broadside and pamphlet mailed out by the Publication Committee have further promoted the Society's membership campaign. These two activities have kept the staff busy and have brought in both new members and additional gifts listed elsewhere.

On January 18 your secretary went to the *Campo de Cahuenga Memorial Association* at North Hollywood with Member Herbert Morley and enjoyed the exercises there. The flag-raising was particularly well done, the several talks on the program were good, the musical numbers were excellent, the dancing by the girls was effective and it is interesting to note from year to year the continuing interest of the local people. Ex-sheriff Biscailuz' talk was effective and Dr. Kersey closed the meeting with appropriate remarks.

February 1, being the 100th anniversary of the birth of Charles Fletcher Lummis, exercises were held in his honor at El Alisal, his old home near the Southwest Museum. Carl S. Dentzel made an inspiring talk about the general subject and pleaded for the preservation of his home as a memorial. Professor Dudley C. Gordon who, as a student of Lummis, has been writing a history of his life, gave a most interesting account of Mr. Lummis before he left the east, his crossing of the country, and his activities after he arrived out here. Treasurer Putnam, Director Northrop, and Secretary and Mrs. Guy E. Marion were all present. Mrs. Carl Dentzel added much to the program with her delightful music in the trio which she had assembled. Refreshments followed the program and the rooms were crowded. Incidentally, it was interesting to note that Mr. Gordon wore one of Mr. Lummis' suits.

At the invitation of Supervisor Ernest E. Debs, several of our members attended the reinstallation of the historic Mesmer Flag-pole at the southwest corner of the Hall of Justice at 11:00 A.M.



March 7. The old flagpole which had been given by Joseph Mesmer to the County a few years ago and which had originally stood in front of the United States Hotel when first brought from Oregon in 1866 was erected at the same spot where it formerly stood. In connection with the raising of the pole, Mrs. June Mesmer MacKenzie, granddaughter of Mr. Mesmer who originally obtained the pole, raised the flag at the end of the ceremony. Several members of our society present were: Mr. and Mrs. Alex MacKenzie, Mrs. J. M. Northrop and three children, Director and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman, Mrs. B. Sabichi Mitchell, Mr. John R. Boden who brought the condition of the pole in storage to our attention and Secretary Guy E. Marion. Interesting photographs were taken by members of the press.

Mr. Lon S. McCoy sent us an interesting note about his grandfather, Dr. Milton McCoy, a physician for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, who lived at Tipton, Missouri in 1858. Lon's father was then five years old and undoubtedly they saw the Butterfield Stage Caravan when it started in 1858 — so it took two generations for him to see it arrive here last October. We hope he was at the Post Office on October 7. Time moves on and so does the mail.

## New Members

During the first three months of 1959, the *Historical Society of Southern California* enrolled 124 new members. The *Membership* and *Publications Committees* were active in obtaining many of these new members with the assistance of the following Society members, each of whom recommended one or more persons for membership.

Dr. Gustave O. Arlt  
Herbert E. Brown  
K. L. Carver  
Peg Cassidy  
Dwight L. Clarke  
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman  
Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun  
Dr. John H. Eaton  
Colin M. Gair  
Mrs. Everett G. Hager  
Joseph H. Jenkins  
Richard B. Luckey  
Ruth I. Mahood  
Guy E. Marion

Lorrin L. Morrison  
Raymond K. Morrison  
Marco R. Newmark  
Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop  
Harold Oswald  
Dr. Lawrence Clark Powell  
Frank B. Putnam  
Dr. Andrew F. Rolle  
John W. Snyder  
Grace S. Stoermer  
George L. Swartz  
Justin G. Turner  
Mr. and Mrs. John C. Wolfskill  
Mrs. Thomas E. Workman

The new members who joined the Society during January, February, and March, are:

### *Life Members*

Mrs. F. James Hope

Countess Mary Young Moore

### *Sustaining Members*

Frederick M. Hughes

Mrs. Fred Nason

### *Annual Members*

Mr. and Mrs. Harry S. Ackerman  
Dr. Raymond B. Allen  
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Anstead  
Mrs. W. Jarvis Barlow  
Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Benton  
Mrs. T. B. Blakeston  
Harry C. Bond  
Mrs. I. A. Bonilla  
Miss Clara Bosbyshell  
F. H. Bosbyshell  
Walter J. Braunschweiger  
George A. Briggs  
Mrs. Mable Broyles  
Dr. and Mrs. Alonzo B. Cass

Mrs. Stuart Chevalier  
Mrs. Leonard A. Chudacoff  
Peggy Christian  
The Arthur H. Clark Company  
Mrs. M. R. Clary  
Mr. and Mrs. Aaron L. Cohen  
Mr. and Mrs. Harold F. Collins  
Mrs. Victoria Cook  
Dr. and Mrs. Arthur G. Coons  
Robert A. Craib  
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas P. Cullen  
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Cummins  
Mrs. Elizabeth J. Curtis

(Continued)



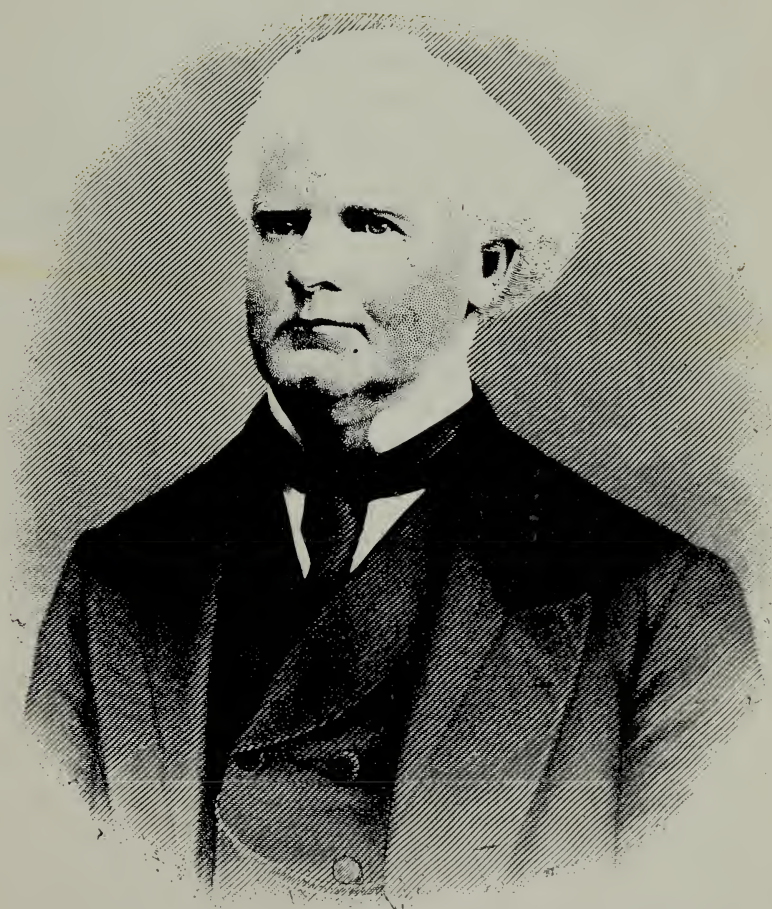
*Annual Members (Continued)*

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert H. Dace	Dr. Harrison A. Putnam
Mrs. Clara LeTetra Darling	Mr. and Mrs. Carleton H. Ralston
Ann Dart	Mrs. Ayola Reiss
Leonard H. Dore	J. E. Reynolds
Mrs. Frank Flowers	Mrs. J. C. Roberts
Moris B. Friesch	Frank L. Robinson
Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.	Dr. Paul B. Roen
Mr. and Mrs. M. Grant Graham	Leo Rosenthal
Mrs. Gregory Groff	Phillipine W. Runnings
Mrs. Ollie Hammond	Dr. William T. Russell
Joseph C. Harker	San Luis Obispo County Free Library
Carl Haverlin	Harold G. Schutt
Mrs. Truman Hedding	John A. Schutz
William J. Holmes	Charles Scribner's Sons
Paul J. Howard	Mrs. Pearl Segerstrom
Warren R. Howell	David S. Shattuck
Durward Howes	Daniel Siemens
Mrs. Charles M. Hughes	Mr. and Mrs. Donald S. Simpson
Mrs. George T. Inge, Jr.	Neil A. Skinner
Sander L. Johnson	Prof. Louis B. Slichter
Mrs. Bernice Eastman Johnston	Mrs. Helen L. Sommerfeld
Mrs. F. G. Jones	I. M. Spaulding
Clark Kerr	John W. Spinks
Dr. Vierling Kersey	Mrs. Forrest Q. Stanton
Mr. and Mrs. Fred King	Mrs. G. Lawrence Stimson
E. J. Leslie	Mrs. Herbert L. Sutton
Long Beach Public Library	Herbert L. Sutton
Donald B. Lush	Robert H. Thomas
Ransom Matthews	Mrs. Caroline Stanton Thompson
Mr. and Mrs. Julio Mendoza	Miss Frances S. Titus
Mrs. Dexter Monroe	Mrs. John H. Trebler
Rev. Michael Montoya, C.M.F.	Mr. and Mrs. N. Bradford Trenham
Mrs. E. Jerome Murphy	W. A. Van Allen
Mrs. Edwin Myers	Gary Niel Van Essen
William E. McCann	Mr. and Mrs. J. Murray Watkins
Thomas S. McNeill	Theodore Weisman
Mrs. Dorothy Nardine	Mrs. Charles Paul West
Edith Pictor Nelson	Mrs. Iris Higbie Wilson
Mrs. Florence Lee Ohlsen	Miss Marguerita Winston
Mrs. Fremont Older	Sidney D. Witherow
Miss Lulu R. O'Neal	Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Woodward
Harold J. Ostly	Mr. and Mrs. D. D. Woodward
Mrs. Harold Pauley	William P. Wreden
Adeline Coombs Pauling	Deborah M. Wubben
Alfred P. Peracca	Yale & Brown
Mrs. Charles Lee Powell	J. Howard Zeimann

June, 1959

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*The*  
*Historical Society of Southern California*  
**QUARTERLY**




—Historical Collection Security-First National Bank

DR. RICHARD DEN

(See "Medical Quacks and Heroes of Early California" — page 101)



 THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for three-quarters of a century. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

*The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:*

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

*This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.*

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:

*(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)*

<i>Life Member</i> .....	\$200.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i> .....	\$ 25.00
<i>Patron Member</i> .....	100.00	<i>Active Member</i> .....	10.00

*Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible income tax items.*

*Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. General correspondence should be addressed to the Society Secretary.*

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California  
Telephone REpublic 4-2823

The  
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**QUARTERLY**

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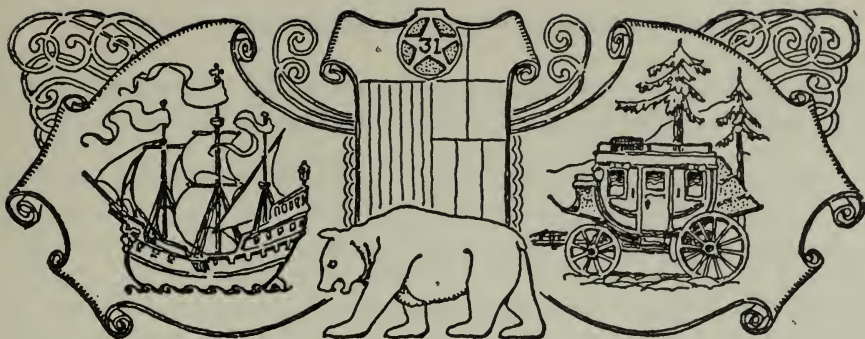
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# Medical Quacks and Heroes *of* Early California

*By Viola Lockhart Warren*

**V**E TAKE IT FOR GRANTED in present-day California that competent physicians are all about us, available when we need them, within easy reach. It was not thus in early California. Trained doctors were practically non-existent, and when trouble struck, the only help was from some untrained practitioner or an outright quack who had assumed the title of Doctor. The people themselves were forced to be medically self-reliant and to use any or all of the local resources at their disposal.

The Indians had their medicine men, quite adequate to suck the poison out of an arrow wound or to set a broken bone. With their herbs, sweat houses, and incantations they could take on almost any kind of case from childbirth to psychiatry, among the whites or the Indians. As for the Padres, none of them were medically trained, but they had medicines from Mexico City, and if one had the calomel or quinine or opium in those days, one didn't



ask for a doctor to prescribe it; one guessed at a safe dose and told an Indian neophyte to watch for the effect on the patient.

The Spanish settlers brought with them and used a batch of medical superstitions and grotesque remedies dating from the dark ages. Someone in every family remembered how to make a poultice out of the entrails of a freshly-killed chicken or to brew a tea from fresh horse manure. European and American trappers and hunters who penetrated to the west coast had medicines along with them and they were often forced into rough, trail surgery. Sometimes they had smallpox vaccine, dried on silk threads, and this made them medical authorities for any kind of case. Perhaps the best medical care was provided by doctors-of-sorts who came on sailing vessels and treated patients at the ports, but these medics could sail away without waiting to see whether their patients died or got well.

The Spanish Viceroy in Mexico City tried his best to forestall health problems when he planned the first colony for California in 1769. He specified that all settlers should be young and in good health, and he sent a trained physician with the first ship-load of colonists. Dr. Pedro Prat was a graduate of the University of Barcelona and was an experienced practitioner, but, aboard the sailing vessel on the way to San Diego, he met the medical arch-enemy of that day — sea scurvy. Almost every man on board the *San Antonio* came down with the disease, and the second ship to arrive at the harbor was in even worse condition. Dr. Prat and the few sailors who could still stand got the sick and dying off the ships into a driftwood and sailcloth hospital on the San Diego beach. The doctor knew that fresh meat or vegetables or fruit would cure his men, but in all of California in 1769 there was not a cow or a horse or a sheep or a pig or a chicken, and California Indians did not plant vegetables or grow fruit. There were deer in the distant hills, but men with legs swollen from scurvy could not go after them. Dr. Prat, sick himself with scurvy, went out into the barren waste around the hospital to look for herbs or even green grass for his patients, but he found little at the end of a California May. Two-thirds of the men of this expedition died of scurvy on the San Diego beach.

Dr. Prat stayed for a year with his San Diego hospital and then went north to be Surgeon General at the newly established capitol in Monterey. Here again he was defeated by scurvy, because almost every white man reaching California came by ship, and

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every ship was a hotbed for scurvy. Dr. Prat begged permission to slaughter for his patients some of the livestock brought from Mexico to start the mission herds, but the answer was, "No." The future success of the colony was more important than the health of the scurvy victims. Finally, Dr. Prat lost his mind in Monterey and was shipped home to die insane. Our first medical hero!

Second to scurvy in its devastating effect upon the Spanish colonies was smallpox, and the government in Spain was concerned about the frequent epidemics. In 1803, five years after Edward Jenner demonstrated cowpox vaccine, King Charles ordered his Physician of the Chamber, Dr. Francisco Xavier Balmis, to take vaccine to the New World. He instructed the doctor to "take a sufficient number of small boys who have not had smallpox." The boys were to serve as living reservoirs to keep the vaccine alive in the absence of refrigeration. One boy would be vaccinated from the pustules of another at the last possible minute before the first boy's serum dried.

Dr. Balmis took twenty-two boys, age from four to ten, from the almshouses of Coruña, Spain, and marched them to the sailing vessel in the harbor. Three months later, when the ship reached Puerto Rica, the last boy still had a live inoculation. The inhabitants of the island were vaccinated, and a new crop of Indian boys were taken forcibly from their parents to keep the vaccine alive as far as Venezuela. On the mainland, Dr. Balmis split his scientific group and sent small expeditions on horseback, with more Indian boys, into remote sections of the Spanish possessions. He had intended to penetrate Upper California but was diverted to take a ship with twenty-six boys to the Philippines and the coast of China.

It is probable that as many as 100,000 persons were vaccinated by Dr. Balmis' expedition, despite the remoteness of the settlements, the superstitious fears of the people, and the poor cooperation of the colonial governors. It was one of the great public health ventures of all time. The Indian boys, of course, were dropped wherever their usefulness ended, but Dr. Balmis promised that he would take good care of the Spanish boys. They were deposited in an orphanage in Mexico City. The only subsequent report was that they gave trouble to the Catholic Sisters because of the profanity they had learned from the sailors on shipboard. Perhaps those twenty-two anonymous boys of 156 years ago should be classed as medical heroes, along with Dr. Francisco Balmis.



Upper California had its own pioneer experiences with smallpox, and its own smallpox hero. As early as 1786, some of the mission cattle, fresh from Mexico, developed cowpox, and humans were said to have been vaccinated successfully from their serum. However, the cowpox died out, and no other source of vaccine was available until a Spanish ship brought a small supply in 1817. Afterwards, several Russian ships brought serum to the California ports, but the supply was irregular and the vaccine not always potent.

In 1828, however, a new source for vaccine was revealed by the arrival in San Diego of the American trapper, James Ohio Pattie, with a party of seven men. The Mexican authorities threw the trappers into jail because they could not show a passport into Mexican territory. Pattie's father died in jail, and although six of his men were released, James Ohio was still held as a hostage. Hearing that an epidemic of smallpox was moving toward San Diego from northern California, Pattie let it be known that he had some smallpox vaccine on his person, supposedly brought by his father from the Santa Rita copper mines in Texas. The young trapper bargained for his freedom with the promise that he would vaccinate the Governor's household and anyone else in California who wished his services.

Within a short time, James Ohio Pattie was on his way up the coast of California with the title of "Physician Extraordinary to His Majesty the Governor." It is probable that his limited supply of vaccine was strained to the utmost. He may have taken fresh serum from newly vaccinated arms, or he may have secured serum from a Russian ship known to have visited Monterey in that year. At any rate he progressed as far north as the Russian colony at Bodega Bay, where he was paid \$100 in fees. An effort was made in San Francisco to convert him to the Catholic faith and to retain his services in California, but he returned to the East to write a book about his smallpox crusade. He claimed to have vaccinated 22,000 people in California, but since there were not that many human beings in the area he traversed, we must discount his story to some extent. Even if he had vaccinated all of the 4,000 white people in California, plus all of the mission Indians, his count would still have been short of 22,000.

Ten years before Pattie's adventure, another American had acquired the role of physician, this time as an adjunct to the blacksmithing profession. Joseph Chapman, a big blonde of thirty, coming from Boston, landed in California under most inauspicious cir-

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cumstances. He was second officer on a Buenos Aires raider that sacked and burned the capitol city of Monterey. Coming to shore in a small boat, Chapman demanded that the city either join the rebellion against Spanish dominion or surrender to the raiding party. The Spanish Governor threw Chapman into jail, but the American was soon released by his fellow pirates. He stayed with the ship as far as the next landing at Refugio Ranch, but while the raiders were pillaging there, Chapman escaped up the canyon to Santa Inéz Mission and surrendered as a prisoner to the Spanish authorities.

Chapman claimed to have been impressed into Bouchard's expedition against his will, at the Sandwich Islands. Now he asked to be allowed to stay on land and serve the Spanish settlement. Possibly he was hungry to work again at the blacksmithing trade, and he saw much to be done in a land where no able mechanic had set foot before him. He began to make repairs at the Santa Inéz Mission, built a grist mill there and one at San Gabriel Mission, constructed a sixty-ton schooner at San Gabriel and carted it in sections to San Pedro to be assembled. Because Joseph Chapman was willing to use his capable hands to sew up a wound, pull a tooth or set a broken bone, he was soon recognized as a doctor and used as such at San Gabriel and at the Pueblo of Los Angeles.

Dr. Chapman's most distinguished patient, in 1831, was Governor Victoria, sorely wounded in the chest and face at the Battle of Cahuenga. The Governor was carried to San Gabriel Mission, and there Chapman cleaned and sewed up his wounds and gave him opium to ease the pain. For fifteen days, Joseph Chapman dressed the draining wounds, until the sick and miserable Governor moved on to San Luis Rey to await a ship to Mexico. From shipboard he sent back his gratitude to Dr. Chapman and reported that his wounds were healing rapidly.

Chapman was eventually pardoned by the government and granted citizenship. He adopted the Catholic faith and married a daughter of the powerful Ortega family. His home was in Los Angeles, but he continued to work for the Padres at San Gabriel until the missions were secularized in 1832. Then he moved to Santa Barbara where he died in 1849. He was a good citizen of California under three flags, and although he was not truly a doctor, neither was he a quack because he made no claim to training which he did not possess.

There was another untrained American practitioner in Mon-



terey who was less honest than Joseph Chapman. Joe Meeks, on his way down from Oregon in 1843, announced to his companions, "Boys, when I get down to California among the greasers, I'm going to palm myself off as a doctor." And so he did, with one initial piece of good luck when he used mud to paste the severed tip of a boy's nose back in place. The piece of nose adhered and grew back again. Later, however, Meeks tried to borrow medicine from the surgeon of a U.S. naval vessel newly arrived in port, and was exposed by the navy doctor as a quack who knew nothing about medicines and could neither read nor write.

Two Anglo-Saxon ex-sailors, who had brought ashore some of the ship's medical supplies, practiced in Monterey in the 1830's. Fernando Cooper, American, and James Stokes, British, were medical consultants during the fatal illness of Governor Figueroa, and, upon his death, they assisted the Mexican Surgeon General to embalm the body. Their inexperience was revealed when the coffin of the Governor was opened later for the official funeral. The gentlemen had used too much arsenic and the body had crumbled to dust. Fernando Cooper later practiced briefly in Los Angeles, signing a death certificate here in 1838. James Stokes continued as a respected private practitioner of Monterey until he moved to San Jose and became the first American mayor of that city.

During the reign of these three Monterey quacks, Meeks, Cooper, and Stokes, a legitimate physician made his appearance in the Capitol, Dr. Edward Bale, an Englishman. Bale married the niece of General Mariano Vallejo and thus achieved considerable status in the little community. In 1840, when the government found itself without a surgeon general, Bale was appointed to the post. Soon he offended his employers by setting up a thriving liquor business in the government drug room, and he was thrown in jail. General Vallejo interceded and took the doctor to Sonoma to provide medical care for that northern outpost. Here Dr. Bale became jealous of the General's brother, Salvatore, who seemed to be paying too much attention to Mrs. Bale. The doctor started taking pot shots at the Vallejo across the Sonoma Plaza. Again he was thrown in jail, and there were plots and counter-plots and a severe sword whipping before he was finally released. In disgust, the only trained doctor in the whole of California retired to the Napa region and took up ranching. His grist mill is still standing on the outskirts of Calistoga.

Dr. Bale's deflection left Sonoma at the mercy of one of the

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original doctors of the area, the Indian Shaman, Petronio. José Vallejo is quoted as saying, "We had no other physician than the Indian Petronio, who cured his friends and killed his enemies." In 1844, José Vallejo sent two men from San Jose to Sonoma to ask Petronio to attend to the case of a San Jose man who had accidentally shot himself. "The proud infidel refused to accede to my request, and sent me word that he would not move one inch unless Castro should come in person to solicit his assistance. My emissaries returned to San Jose, reported to Castro what Petronio had said and that officer without delay mounted his horse and rode to Sonoma to beg the Indian to come and cure his wounded soldier and relative. Petronio at first refused, but after a while he acceded to his petition and returned with him to San Jose, where he restored health to the wounded man by means of herbs whose virtue to him only was known." Whether quack or hero, this doctor cured his patient!

Back in Monterey, the vacancy left by Dr. Bale's departure was filled by a gentleman from Mexico by the name of Faustino Moro. He was not a doctor, but was sent to supervise health affairs. The hospitable people of Monterey welcomed Dr. Moro and entertained him lavishly until they discovered that the vivacious woman with him was not his wife — that Mrs. Moro was still established in Mexico City. Then all doors were closed to the doctor, and his recall was demanded. He was replaced, as surgeon for General Castro's troupes, by an agile little Frenchman named Alfredo Anselim, who must have been a trained physician because he was later hired by the United States Army to run the army hospital in San Diego.

Los Angeles, in the meantime, was rejoicing over the acquisition of a real doctor from Harvard. John Marsh arrived in 1836, just a year later than Edward Bale, and presented his Harvard diploma to the City Council with a request for a medical license. Unfortunately, no one on the Council could read the Latin diploma. The Padre from San Gabriel Mission was called as a translator, and he vouched for the doctor's training. John Marsh was duly licensed to practice in the pueblo, but the Padre, too, must have been deficient in his Latin, because John Marsh was graduated from the Harvard School of Letters, not the School of Medicine.

Nevertheless, he continued to practice in the little pueblo of 1,200 people for the better part of a year. He accepted cow hides in lieu of fees because there was almost no currency in Southern



California at the time. Finally the doctor became disgusted with his crowded little adobe office that smelled to high heaven because of the accumulated hides. He sold out for \$500 and moved north. At his ranch in Walnut Creek, he profited from past experience and required *live* cattle, and plenty of them, in payment for his medical services. He treated all the best people of the north and amassed a fortune in lands and herds before he was murdered on his ranch by cattle thieves.

John Marsh had married an Indian woman in the East and, later, in trouble with the law, had abandoned her and their small son. When the boy was grown to manhood, he found Marsh in California, and there was a joyous reunion. The son avenged his father's death by finding the murderers and seeing them brought to justice. Marsh was a well educated, brilliant man, but he had a disagreeable personality and was much criticized by his contemporaries, both Spanish and American. His castle, built for an American bride who never lived to occupy it, is still standing in the Walnut Creek area.

Marsh was followed in Los Angeles by a Scottish eccentric named William Money, who claimed to be a physician and a theologian. Money was in Los Angeles from 1840 until his death at San Gabriel in 1890, doing some doctoring, writing religious and medical treatises which he could never afford to publish, and wrangling about church reform. He was a quaint and colorful character, so persistent in his beliefs that he could not be ignored. It is a pity that he lived and died too early to reap the fame and fortune that Los Angeles has offered to more recent eccentrics.

Once again, in 1843, Los Angeles welcomed a real doctor, and this time the Council was not fooled by a Latin diploma. Richard Den had studied medicine by the apprentice method in Waterford, Ireland, and had passed his examinations in Dublin. He took a job as ship's physician and eventually landed at Mazatlan, on the coast of Mexico. Here he heard that his older brother, Nicholas, who had left Ireland six years before, was established at Santa Barbara. He made his way to his brother's home and found that Nicholas would be much relieved to hand over his own medical practice, for which he was completely untrained, to his professional brother.

Richard Den made arrangements for Abel Stearns of Los Angeles to raise a thousand dollars from the citizens of the pueblo and the surrounding area, to serve as an inducement for Dr. Den to become resident physician. While he was waiting for his in-

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ducement, Dr. Den rode to Monterey and secured a license to practice medicine from the Mexican governor. He cared for the Larkin children and those of other prominent families during a smallpox epidemic in Monterey, but apparently he made no effort to stem the epidemic by wide-spread vaccination. That public health venture was left for a dentist and mechanic named William Streeter, who brought some vaccine from San Francisco and vaccinated three hundred people in Mr. Larkin's parlor. Despite this belated effort, eighty out of Monterey's population of eight hundred died in the smallpox epidemic of 1844.

Streeter followed Dr. Den to Santa Barbara and afterwards complained in his "Recollections" that the Irish doctor had used vaccine from syphilitic Kanaka sailors, and that, as a result, several of his patients had died and one had lost her arm. Nevertheless, Dr. Den continued his liesurely, dignified, and expensive practice among the Spanish families of Los Angeles until 1854, when he retired for a time to his horse ranch at San Marcos. After the disastrous drought of 1864 had destroyed his cattle and horses, he returned to Los Angeles and practiced here until his death in 1895.

Dr. Den never became a citizen of Mexico, but he was so thoroughly identified with the Spanish Catholic people that when war broke out between Mexico and the United States, he was made Surgeon General for the Mexican forces. He was afterwards accused of neglecting the care of the common soldier in favor of the officers, but at least he was helpful and considerate to the American prisoners held for a time in Los Angeles.

The doctor remembered always that he was born an aristocrat in Ireland. He was stiff-necked and pious, always a bachelor. Mounted on a black horse, with his tall white collar and black stock and with his curly hair turning white, he was a spectacular sight on the streets of Los Angeles. When the old Catholic cemetery on North Broadway was moved in 1930, the Los Angeles County Medical Association moved the coffin of the city's first physician to its new resting place. The modern medicos could not resist the temptation to open the coffin, and there, between the doctor's folded hands, they found a gold fifty-cent piece, provided by some loving friend to pay the fare across the River Styx. I blush to say that the coin was not returned to the doctor, but rests now in the museum of the County Medical Association.

While Dr. Den was getting established in Southern California, a well-trained American doctor was arriving in the north. Dr. John



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Townsend, from Lexington Medical School, had crossed the plains with the ill-fated Stevens party and was glad to recover for a while at Sutter's Fort. He joined Sutter's armed force in defense of the current Mexican governor and then settled for a time in Monterey. He was in San Francisco between 1846 and 1849, as physician, president of the school board, member of the city council and finally as mayor. In 1849, he joined everyone else at the gold fields, returning to make his home in San Jose. Here he died in the cholera epidemic of 1850.

During Dr. Townsend's six years in California, the Mexican regime ended. The ports of California were seized by the United States Navy in 1846, and the Army came at the end of that year. When Army Surgeon John Griffin rode his mule up to Warner's ranch in December of 1846, he became the sixth trained doctor within the present confines of California. The other five were Den of Los Angeles, Townsend of San Francisco, Bale running his grist mill in Calistoga, Dr. Edward Gilchrist loaned to Frémont's Volunteers by the Navy, and Dr. Alfredo Anselim who had deserted General Castro to join Frémont. Only Den and Townsend were actually serving the people, one at each end of the state.

Dr. John Griffin, the newly arrived army surgeon, was thirty years old, trained at the University of Pennsylvania and with six years of experience in private practice and in the Indian wars. He was accompanied by a hospital apprentice, Erasmus Darwin French, who later gave his distinguished middle name to Darwin Peak and other prominent landmarks in Death Valley.

The two medicos had a gruelling tour of duty as they crossed the mountains and deserts from Fort Leavenworth to Warner's ranch with General Kearny and his dragoons. A short distance out of Santa Fé, they had been obliged to jettison their hospital wagon and pack their medical supplies in the panniers of their mules. As they proceeded from Warner's ranch toward San Diego, they met a body of armed Californians in the disastrous Battle of San Pascual. Eighteen of the dragoons were killed and nineteen wounded. The doctor tore up shirts to bandage the lance wounds of his men, and strapped the badly injured ones onto Indian travois so that the Army could proceed toward San Diego and the Navy fleet congregated there. General Kearny ordered the dragoons to burn their saddles and all surplus equipment in preparation for a forced march through the California sentries. Dr. Griffin's remaining medical books and supplies went up in smoke along with the saddles. Fi-

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nally, a hundred and fifty jack tars from Stockton's Navy reached the Army and helped them and their wounded into San Diego.

Here Dr. Griffin found little to make his task easier. San Diego was just a small huddle of adobes near the Mission; a crumbling fort and a few residences. The most seriously injured men were partitioned among the homes of San Diego, and the navy doctors provided medicines and helped with the medical care. When word came that the Mormon Battalion, three hundred and twenty men who had *walked* from Fort Leavenworth, were on the border and would soon need to be taken care of in San Diego, General Kearny sent men into Baja California to drive up cattle for food; scoured the countryside for breadstuff; and sent the army quartermaster to the Sandwich Islands for medical supplies.

Honolulu was then the chief trading post of the Pacific and Quartermaster Swords loaded his sailing vessel for the return trip with food, clothing, blankets, and the much-needed medical supplies. The shopping list which he filled for Dr. Griffin is now in Bancroft Library, mute testimony to the grim realities of army medicine in that day: bleeding and cupping apparatus, but no laboratory equipment, no microscope or stethoscope; cathartics, and forty chamber pots to go with them, but no anaesthetics except opium and whisky, no antiseptics at all.

The ship returned from the Islands in a little over two months, and an army hospital was set up in San Diego with Dr. Griffin in charge. He divided his supplies with Dr. Sanderson, who came with the Mormons, to equip a second hospital in Los Angeles, but Dr. Sanderson was thoroughly hated by the Mormons and was sent back to Washington with General Kearny and his prisoner, John Frémont. Dr. Griffin moved to the larger and more exciting military headquarters in Los Angeles and conducted his hospital in the old adobe government house, later to be the Bella Union Hotel. Here he served from 1847 to 1849, sleeping his patients in bed sacks on the dirt floor and operating on a wooden table in the courtyard, often by candle light. He amputated a leg from a badly burned soldier after the powder explosion on Fort Moore Hill, and he treated a long series of typhoid cases without ever suspecting that his patients were infecting each other. The good doctor could not be blamed. This was a hundred and ten years ago, and the germ theory had not yet been introduced to the world.

After 1849, Dr. Griffin completed his tour of army duty at Benecia, where he participated in the gold rush excitement and



watched the new state being organized. In 1854 he was at last released from the Army and he returned, post haste, to Los Angeles to practice medicine for the rest of his life.

A number of army doctors were sent to California after Dr. Griffin's arrival, to serve the various garrisons. Among them were Rob Murray, later Surgeon General for the United States Army, James Ord, who left a distinguished record in the Santa Barbara region, and Alexander Perry who was sent to Baja California during the bitter campaign there. He shared the resentment of his fellow soldiers when the peninsula they had fought so hard to hold was not included as United States territory in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

This group of army doctors deserve more honor than they have received from California historians. They were better trained than any doctor who came before them. They served civilians and soldiers alike over tremendous expanses of territory, with no means of transportation except the saddle. They had inadequate medical supplies, and always conflicting and unintelligent orders from the Surgeon General, six months away in Washington. Worst of all, they were on miserable salaries. When the gold rush hiked the cost of living to astronomical levels, they were unable to pay for their own food. Finally, their rations were issued to them "in kind," and by carrying their beans and salt pork to their quarters to be cooked for them, they managed to survive. With a few other civilian doctors who arrived in California between 1846 and 1848, these men could have established a sound basis for a California medical profession, but they were suddenly all inundated by the gold rush doctors.

It has been estimated that 1,500 men calling themselves doctors of medicine came with the gold rush. Probably half of them were quacks. Mexican law governing the practice of medicine had been abolished by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the United States law had not yet been established. No one could know which man was a charlatan and which was a legitimate physician. They hung up their shingles side by side in the gold fields, where one practitioner could make as much as a thousand dollars a day in gold dust. When they tired of the gold fields, they moved into Sacramento or San Francisco or Los Angeles and went their profitable way, hand in glove with the newly opened drug stores, whose proprietors found the quacks to be better customers than the regular doctors. Between them, they managed for years to defeat every effort of the legitimate doctors to suppress the quacks and to secure adequate medical legislation for California.

## *Medical Quacks and Heroes of Early California*

Finally, after a disastrous flood had increased the health hazards in Sacramento, and a cholera epidemic had killed one sixth of the population of that city, one medical society managed to hold together and to start the California Medical Association in 1856. A State Board of Health followed in 1870 and the first Medical Practice Act in 1876.

Two medical heroes of the Sacramento flood should be mentioned: Doctors Morse and Stillman who operated a little private hospital in a story-and-a-half board shack. As the waters of the flood rose, they huddled their thirty-nine men patients and one woman into the garret, caring for them as best they could while they waited for the swirling water to sweep the whole structure away. When patients succumbed to the cold and damp and lack of food, the doctors sewed the bodies into blankets and lowered them into the deep water of the first floor. When enough bodies had accumulated, Dr. Stillman hailed a passing row boat, fished the bodies out of the water with a hook and line, and buried them himself in the high land beyond the city. Dr. Stillman has left us a detailed description of that two-week vigil which is an epic in the history of California medicine.

The infant California Medical Association, which the same Dr. John Morse founded in 1856, met for its first two years in Sacramento, in an atmosphere of peace and idealism. At its third meeting, in San Francisco, it met not only the opposition of the quacks but also the bitter animosities among regular physicians that had been stirred up by the rivalry of two proprietary medical schools. The Toland and the Cooper schools, now the medical schools of the University of California and of Stanford, dragged their controversy onto the floor of the convention, and fist-fighting broke out among the frock-coated delegates. The convention dissolved, and the California Medical Association went into coma for twelve years, not to meet again until 1870, when the railroads had brought a more level-headed kind of physician to California.

The railroads had not yet come to Southern California when Dr. John Griffin, overwhelmed by his Los Angeles practice, decided to take a young partner. With the arrival of Dr. Joseph Widney in 1868, the era of modern medicine began to dawn in Los Angeles. He organized the Los Angeles County Medical Association in 1871 and made old Dr. John Griffin its first president. He established the College of Medicine of the University of Southern California and was its dean from 1885 to 1891, its benefactor during its entire existence. He assumed the presidency of the University of Southern



California during the depression of 1891 to 1895 and averted the financial ruin that threatened the young school.

The College of Medicine which Dr. Widney founded was entirely self-supporting and administered its own affairs, although it carried the name of the University of Southern California and its degrees were granted by the University. The conscientious faculty, volunteering their time and paying monthly assessments, strove mightily to make theirs a good school, as good as any in the United States. Medical education, at the beginning, consisted almost exclusively of lectures and care of indigent patients in clinic and hospital. Laboratory teaching was almost non-existent until the turn of the century.

When expensive laboratories and salaried laboratory assistants became inevitable, the little school on North Broadway could no longer meet the rising costs. In profound discouragement, the faculty offered the plant to the Regents of the University of California, hoping that the school could be maintained at a high level with tax money. The Regents accepted the gift and tried to make arrangements for the continuation of a two-year school, similar to their San Francisco one, but the State Legislature was not generous to the South in those days. In 1914, the Los Angeles Department of the School of Medicine of the University of California died of starvation.

There had been a reservation with the gift that if the University ever ceased to use the property for medical education, it would revert to the donors. For this reason, and because the medical profession of Los Angeles insisted, the Regents continued the outpatient clinic and called the institution a Postgraduate School of Medicine. Thus it continued until 1951. In that year it was closed with finality, for structural and sanitary reasons. During the closing inventory, a locked room in the cellar was opened, and there, on dissecting tables, were nine cadavers, lying just as the medical students had left them, forty years before.

The property has recently been sold and the old school torn down. The returns from this and from the Barlow Library building across the street amount to almost a hundred thousand dollars. The money has been put into an endowment fund, "The W. Jarvis Barlow and Los Angeles College Clinic Association Memorial Endowment Fund." The income will be used to buy books for the UCLA biomedical library. Each book will carry a memorial book plate and will be available to the entire medical community.

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This fund is a tangible link between the heroism and the high standards of the old faculty and the dedication and modern objectives of the new. It commemorates men like W. Jarvis Barlow, who came to Los Angeles to be cured of his tuberculosis and remained to lead the medical profession for decades; to give the beautiful little Barlow Library and to assemble the books which became the nucleus for the distinguished medical library of the Los Angeles County Medical Association. It commemorates faculty confreres of his such as the great Walter Lindley, Henry Brainerd, the Haynes brothers, Doctors Orme, Kurtz, Bicknell, Nadeau, Black, and a host of others — good doctors, who built our hospitals, dictated our City and County health regulations and set the standard for good medicine in Los Angeles. It commemorates also Mr. Jackson A. Graves, vice-president of the Farmers' and Merchants' National Bank, who gave the little school \$20,000 in memory of his medical student son, Selwyn Emmet Graves; and Dr. George Kress, last surviving member of the Clinic Association, who fought so hard for so long to keep the school and the clinic open.

This is the place to stop. The medical quacks and heroes of early California are all gone. Our modern physicians are probably less dramatic but certainly more competent, and we can hope that the ratio of quacks to heroes is changing for the better.

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# Art in Los Angeles *Before 1900*

**By Henry Winfred Splitter**

*(Continued from the March QUARTERLY)*

## PART II

An insistent problem that became prominent during the 1880's was the rising competition between locally resident artists and the work of outsiders, indeed partly between the individual artist wherever he might reside and an ever more dominant commercialism as exemplified by the importations of art dealers and large scale selling both privately and by auction.

Before discussing this in detail we should remark that the problem could become such only in a cultural environment favorable to art. By the middle 1880's Los Angeles and Southern California in general were becoming the winter haven and more and more the year-round residence of a rather prosperous and definitely well-educated semi-leisure class, who were in consequence the source of demand for art objects of all kinds, including particularly the graphic arts. This demand was strong, but the price tag was important as well as quality. Old-time local residents too, with the development of agriculture and industry and the increasing flood of new immigration, and with the strong emphasis upon cultural values in public and private school education, were themselves becoming a powerful reserve for art demand.

Observation of the total number of pictures sold at this time demonstrates that a good many artists of varying degrees of talent were making a living, even though a meagre one, by free lance work. Demand for paintings, compared with our own day, was quite high. Probably the larger size of house favored by well-to-do citizens of that period compared with our own, with consequent larger wall space to be decorated, had some effect upon demand. Social prestige as well as aesthetic satisfaction were associated with the ownership of paintings and consequently there were but few prosperous residents whose drawing and dining rooms and dens were



not graced by at least a few presentable though not necessarily expensive pictures by local or outside artists.

Interest in art, then, was vigorous in Los Angeles, and its more formal aspect was illustrated by the formation and flourishing of the Ruskin Art Club. It was founded in 1888 by a number of women who desired to study systematically the history and technique of line engraving and etching. The leader was Mary E. Boyce. For two and a half years the club studied black-and-white art in all its branches: line and wood engraving, etching, mezzotint, aquatint, even photo-engraving and lithography. With increased membership came a wider range of interests, and it was decided to study in methodic fashion the whole extensive field of architecture, sculpture and painting. Some time was devoted to archaeology, then a year and a half to an evaluation of Egyptian art and architecture, then came Assyria, and by the time 1895 rolled around, Greece with its Parthenon and famous sculpture and varied artifacts was in focus of discussion. Each meeting had its special topic with appropriate bibliography and, led by the president, members presented their individual findings and informally debated emergent issues. All geographic points were located as required on wall maps. The club met once a week at 10:00 a.m. In 1895 Mrs. Stephen C. Hubbell was President; Vice-President, Mrs. J. E. Sartori; Secretary, Mrs. W. J. Dunn; and Treasurer, Mrs. G. Wiley Wells. There were about forty members at this time, the meeting place being in the Phillips Block.<sup>57</sup>

Los Angeles residents *en masse* apparently, as well as the elite, were interested in paintings. In the autumn of 1887, the celebrated painting of the story-telling genre, "Samson and Delilah," was brought here from Europe by Count J. von Schmidt. It was subsequently loaned to the ladies of the Benevolent Society, headed by Mesdames Hellman, Whitney, and Ducommun, for a benefit exhibition very largely and enthusiastically attended. The painter of this canvas was Pavlik (Piloty), and it had been the recipient of the gold medal at the previous season's art exhibition at Prague. It was painted in the currently popular Hans Mackart style. Six by eight feet, in an impressive gilt frame, the picture was exhibited in a small space at the rear of the art salesroom of Franklin & Kugrermann at 29½ South Spring street. The effect of a small stage was produced by draw curtains on either side of the picture and an overhanging one with a row of electric lights playing full upon the painting in the center. The figures were life-size, Delilah being "a magnificent type of Hebrew beauty," while Samson's figure exhibited "fine muscular development." Delilah is represented as seated upon an

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oriental couch while the sleeping Samson rests his head upon her knees. Delilah with the shorn locks in one hand coldly beckons with the other to Samson's Philistine enemies standing by the open door of her chamber. Throngs crowded the salesroom daily for more than a week for a view of the famous picture. The admission fee was twenty-five cents.<sup>58</sup>

Winter visitants, however, as stated, formed a good deal of the background for the high status of art in Los Angeles. Many of them were interested in the locally picturesque, as were in 1882 the two lady tourists lately from Massachusetts, who were observed by the *Commercial* reporter, "yesterday evening sketching with brush and pallet very beautiful pictures of the adobe walls and colorful streets of Sonora-town."<sup>59</sup>

It was not the visiting amateur, of course, who became competitor to Los Angeles resident artists, but the outside professional, here for a week, a month, or for the season. The *Herald* states the issue succinctly as follows, "Los Angeles bids fair to become an art center, so fascinating is its climate to the many painters and musicians who have grown weary of Eastern winters. There is here, of course, a tremendous competition among professionals, which is likely to increase in the future. Painters and musicians come here to spend the winter, and at reduced prices sell a few pictures or give a few art lessons to increase their income. This takes the bread and butter out of the mouths of permanently located artists. Restaurants, hotels, and boarding houses benefit, but the arts are seriously injured thereby. Perhaps an artists' association, which would hold frequent public receptions and thus establish the standard and advertise the specialties of its members, could aid in putting a more substantial basis under those who mean to stay. Yet perhaps even this would advertise the visiting professionals rather than the local."<sup>60</sup> It is exactly these artists' associations, here so tentatively projected, that in the next decade and later were to become powerfully influential.

Portrait painting was the form most popular with the average art purchaser, closely followed in esteem by landscape and the story-telling genre as in "Samson and Delilah." Even in the portrait field the individual artist was being forced to compete with commercialized mass production both home-grown and Eastern. In December, 1886, the Hayes Studio at 292 South Spring street displayed a large number of local portraits which were, according to the *Tribune*, "the most noteworthy in point of number and merit ever grouped together at any one time in Los Angeles. They represent a money value of over \$17,000, and were all either painted or drawn



under contract with the Messrs. Hayes."<sup>61</sup> This was as the time of the local boom, with money plentiful; yet the value of this art — actually sold to citizens of a town of only 80,000 within a short time by a single concern — is impressive. The reference to the portraits being painted under contract suggests an application of business methods and mass production in art reminiscent of the activities of certain chain photographic establishments in our own day.

Mass output methods, with consequently reduced prices and hard times for individual local artists, were also used successfully for other types of portrait art formerly handled on an uneconomical single-order basis. Strenuously advertised were the so-called "Venetian Oil Paintings" represented locally by J. F. Walker but painted in New York from photographs, tintypes, and the like. Among Southern California patrons were Glenn Seymour, Mrs. W. H. Gould, Mrs. R. P. Waite of Riverside, and others. Declared to be "lifelike and exquisite" and "admired by a large number of persons," the paintings sold at \$5, "formerly \$25."<sup>62</sup>

In the middle 1880's and later, there were a considerable number of art dealers in Los Angeles, competing between themselves and together against venture dealers from outside who brought in and sold, often at cut rate and by auction, sizeable collections of pictures and then disappeared. Most of the local dealers' stock in trade also was obtained from non-Los Angeles sources, the local artist usually preferring or being forced to sell direct to his own contacts. A visitor to the newly established "Philadelphia Art Gallery" at 27 North Main in 1885 found among its offerings the following: an Eastern woodland scene by R. Woods; two paintings by Copellar — "Othello the Moor, in his Appeal to Desdemona," and a "Surf Scene on the Coast of Ireland"; Peirand's "Cardinal Richelieu in his Invocation and Charge"; Romeo and Juliet embracing over the garden wall; the last moments of Marie Stuart; a jolly crowd in a Venetian gondola.<sup>63</sup> The strong appeal of the story-telling picture is indicated by their large proportion here as compared with landscape. In all classes of painting — portrait, landscape and story-telling alike — with small exception, sentiment and the heart throb reigned supreme.

Sometimes individual artists resident in Los Angeles would singly or in combination place their offerings on exhibition, as when, in 1880, B. A. Armstrong and several others exhibited some of their oil paintings at the old Capitol store building on Spring street. Landscape here was the dominant form, the list including some twenty striking views of California scenery as well as vistas from the Adirondacks and Central and South America. The exhibition

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concluded in an auction sale at which prices were reported as "exceedingly low."<sup>64</sup>

In May, 1887, the first such cooperative showing extensive enough to be termed an "Exhibition" was held in the Callaghan Block. Displayed, said the *Herald*, were "many beautiful pictures of scenery in foreign countries and paintings of ancient heroes." The exhibition featured mainly the work of Mrs. Dalton Bond, a pupil of Carl Gussow of the Berlin Academy, and of Miss Garden, who was a graduate of the London School of Art and a pupil of N. G. Green, instructor to the Queen and royal family. These two ladies also intended shortly to open an art school here to be conducted on the same principles as the London School of Art.<sup>65</sup>

Another showing of a Los Angeles artist's creations was one presented in 1883 at a studio at 11 First street, between Main and Spring. Prominent among the items were such local scenes as "Old Baldy," "Los Angeles Valley," "Scene in San Antonio Canyon," and others of like grass-roots import. The *Herald* declared it "the best collection that has yet been shown in the city."<sup>66</sup>

The resident painter of Los Angeles, however, in spite of his emphasis upon local color interest, and the Los Angeles art dealer likewise with his established clientele, both found hard sledding to compete with hit-and-run art dealers here for the sale of one collection only. An example of such outside dealers is C. P. Troy, from San Francisco, who had previously brought several cargoes of paintings here, apparently at a profit, the latest of which were for sale in 1882 on Main street opposite the Pico House. They were advertised as "genuine oil paintings, many of them true copies of the old masters, and nothing cheap about them except the price." Pacific coast scenery was prominent, including a view of Mt. Rainier and of Mt. Hood and a genre study of a Nevada Piute with squaw and papoose before his wickiup. There were coast views and beach scenes, fruit, animals and noted people. Best and crowning all, however, was said to be the picture of a "beautiful petite blonde, with a mass of luxuriant golden tresses falling to her waist, and wreathed in beautiful flowers, who personates California." Each canvas was enclosed in a new gilt frame. Sale was by private agreement and, evenings, by auction.<sup>67</sup>

An indication of how important the California market was judged to be by art dealers even in New York and London in the later 1880's, was an extensive consignment of paintings made up in 1887 from holdings in London, Paris, Rome, Milan, Madrid, Seville, Florence, The Hague, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Copenhagen. It came in charge of W. H. Fanning, an Eastern art dealer, who had



a short time before disposed of a similar collection in San Francisco. The sale was held jointly here with a firm of dealers, Easton and Elldridge, who had conducted a successful water-color sale the year previous.<sup>68</sup>

Chief factor in price cutting in the field of art was the auction sale which, like the "hard goods" discount house of today, undermined the entire price structure for the merchandise under consideration, for producer and dealer alike. The paintings sold at auction were not necessarily inferior to those held for regular salesroom turnover but were rather an indication of need for liquidation and ready cash. So at auction here in November, 1880, were represented well-known San Francisco artists, including Hill, Denny, Strauss, Young, Bush, and Holdridge. California scenery and realism of presentation was stressed in this particular offering, the editor of the *Commercial* declaring he was personally acquainted with the area of the country pictured and would vouch for the artists' fidelity.<sup>69</sup>

Prices were low *but* for cash. There were two pictures of Mt. Hood by Hill, and the larger one was hammered down for \$56; a view near Monterey by Holdridge bringing \$40. Two autumn views by Strauss were bid in for \$15 apiece. A pair of Yosemite views including one of considerable beauty by Young went for \$30 each. "Early Morning in the Yosemite," considered one of the finest pictures in the collection, brought only \$30. Holdridge had two other pictures on offer here — a view of Napa Valley, and "Russian River Meadows." The artist Strong was represented by a Columbia River scene and by "Morning on Pyramid Lake." Small pictures were apparently in better sales demand than the larger ones.<sup>70</sup>

A similarly high quality auction was held in 1888 when a hundred oil paintings from the California Art Gallery, 316 Kearny street, San Francisco, was sold at auction at Beeson & Rhoades' salesrooms, 119-21 West Second street, afternoons and evenings, until disposed of. Specimens of the work of a number of San Francisco artists were included: R. G. Holdridge, Edwin Deakin, J. C. Scott (the marine artist), Harris Bland, Tojetti, and Julius Reubin (a figure painter).<sup>71</sup>

The auction method favored for quick turnover of paintings in the 1870's was still being used, but around 1885, with the marked increase of prosperity, individual sales at galleries became dominant. Prices at these auction sales were clearly not high enough, considering the cost of frames, the dealer's profit, transportation, and other items, to yield much residue to the artist. Although compared with our own day many pictures were sold, the financial posi-

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tion of the professional artist here and elsewhere was a constantly precarious one. A San Francisco correspondent of a local paper expresses this forcibly enough. "California has many good artists, but the marvel is not that they paint few fine pictures, but that they have the heart to paint any. Except a few wealthy buyers like Governor Stanford and Charles Crocker, there are comparatively no patrons of art in California. As a consequence, when pictures are put up at auction here in San Francisco, they generally bring about as much as the frames are worth. Several sales have been held lately, and not a single picture fetched over \$300, while the majority were knocked down at from \$30 to \$50. At these rates it pays an artist rather to engage at a regular salary as a designer for a patent medicine or manufacturing company."<sup>72</sup>

Obvious, in consequence, seems the conclusion that some patronage, state or private, was even at this time desirable in order to close the gap between cost of production of really good work and the amount the buyer was able to pay. This naturally enough assumes that the possession of at least a few works of art is deemed essential to the civilized living of all average citizens, apart from the collection of large numbers of the finest examples into public galleries.

In spite of the many hurdles and road-blocks the Los Angeles environment set up for the aspiring resident artist, a considerable number constantly arrived to take up permanent quarters here. This was evident even before the onset of the real estate boom of 1886-87. In 1881 came Miss Lily A. Ward, a graduate of the New Haven Art School, who took a studio at 9 Fort (Hill) street. A serious-minded woman artist was a novelty here at that time and the *Commercial* recommended to the artistic public that they visit her studio to inspect the fine display of her sketches and studies. As a sideline to her creative activity, she organized a class in crayon and pencil drawing, oil painting and water color.<sup>73</sup>

Miss Mamie Perry, promising young *prima donna* of Los Angeles, in 1882 had her portrait painted in full length by W. G. Cogswell, her music teacher and sponsor. In the opinion of the *Herald*, "Miss Perry's costume, coiffure, attitude, and likeness all blend in an exquisite study of young and hopeful life."<sup>74</sup>

Maggie Cooper, whose studio was at 335 Hill street, corner of Fourth, then a rustically attractive spot, exhibited in 1883 one of her paintings in the window of McDonnell's drug store. The canvas was thirty-six inches by forty, and handsomely framed. The scene was drawn from life at H. M. Johnston's Cañada Grande ranch, and against a background of canyon and foothills were represented sev-



eral of Johnston's Black Polled Angus cattle, "so natural in their shiny black color, and so perfectly painted that they would almost appear to jump out of the canvas." This "masterpiece" was said to have been six months in the painting.<sup>75</sup>

By 1884 there was a veritable flood of newcomers. A *Times* reporter made the rounds of the studios springing up everywhere like mushrooms. Among those present was Mrs. N. H. Wright, formerly of San Francisco, whose specialty was portraits and flowers. Her flower paintings were pleasant enough, but the observer remarked that some of her portraits had an "undue intensity of expression."<sup>76</sup>

Another newcomer was W. M. Short, crayon artist and cartoonist from Cincinnati, whose masterpiece displayed in 1888 was rather an oddity. It was a drawing in crayon, four and a half by five and a half feet, of H. E. Kronich, well known local contractor, and his family. The central figures were Kronich and his wife and about them were grouped their *eleven* children, ten boys and one girl, the youngest two being twins. There was expressed a strong family resemblance in all the faces, yet each was individualized, with expression clear and lifelike, and stood out in bold relief. Pedestrians who stopped to admire and comment on the picture would at times almost blockade the sidewalk in front of the window at 8 South Spring street where it was currently displayed. The *Herald* said further: "Mr. Short, the artist, has unusual ability, and specimens of his work can be found in nearly every household in Los Angeles. Various stores have shown in their windows his caricatures on current events. His specialty is the enlargement of photographs to crayon portraits of any desired size."<sup>77</sup>

Then, continued the *Times* art scout, there were the Misses Gamble, "well-known here for their landscape," and Mrs. Robert Fletcher, a graduate of the Boston Art School and more recently a student of Henry Chapman Ford, the well-known artist of Santa Barbara. The list of local artists continues with Mr. and Mrs. William J. McCloskey, a pair of young artists who in 1884 opened a studio in Child's Grand Opera House. McCloskey was a graduate of the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts and his wife a pupil of William H. Chase of New York City. Portraits were their specialty and their attractive studio was open to the public on Wednesdays of each week.<sup>78</sup>

Somewhat of a sentimentalist was Mrs. L. James Putnam, who, shortly after her arrival here in 1884, set up her studio in the Nadeau Block. Typical subjects of her paintings were: a fruit basket upset, an old-fashioned kitchen with a cat on the hearth, and a small

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boy blowing the dinner horn. Mrs. Putnam, like some of her fellow artists, had studied in New York City.<sup>79</sup>

"The most successful portrait painter Los Angeles has ever had" was how the *Tribune* characterized Albert Jenks in 1886; more, he was "one of the three greatest artists in America."<sup>80</sup> Colonel Albert Jenks, portrait painter, ex-merchant and banker, had come to the city in the autumn of 1885. Originally a banker at Aurora, Illinois, he had studied painting and become successful in the art. It was in Illinois that Jenks painted a portrait of Abraham Lincoln before the latter was elected to the Presidency, and this is the portrait Lincoln is said to have preferred to those by more widely known artists. During the Civil War Jenks served as head of a company of cavalry under Siegel, Rosecrans, Grant and Sheridan. After the war Colonel Jenks studied portrait painting in Chicago, then removed to Colorado, to San Francisco, and finally to Los Angeles. While still at Washington he had painted General Logan and family, Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning, and others. At Denver he painted State officials; at San Francisco, Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins, George Hearst, Albert Gallatin, and six ex-Governors of California. In Los Angeles he painted portraits of Gen. W. T. Sherman, Gen. H. G. Otis of the *Times*, General Banning, Col. Joseph Lynch, J. E. Hollenbeck, Remi Nadeau, W. H. Perry, H. C. Hubbell, Dr. Griffin, and others. Early in 1887, "the members of the Los Angeles County Bar presented to the County two oil paintings costing \$350 — the portraits of Judge A. Brunson and Judge William A. Cheney — with the request that they be hung in the rooms of the Superior Court. They were painted by Albert Jenks."<sup>81</sup>

Jenks was somewhat of a character and eccentric, a Free Thinker and a great admirer of Robert Ingersoll and, at the same time, a retiring personality deeply engrossed in his art and caring little for society. Nevertheless his studio in the Baker Block and later in the Copp Building was always a point of interest for tourists and here he sat early and late at his easel. Though he made a good deal of money through the years, careless speculations in mining and oil dissipated most of it and he died in comparative poverty in July, 1901, at the age of 75, six months after the passing of his wife. At the time of his death by heart failure, he was in the company of his two best friends — Mrs. Bruhn, also a painter, long associated with him in his work, and H. Langley, local publisher and writer.<sup>82</sup>

Most devoted of all our artists to Los Angeles and to Southern California was Joseph Ivey, a water colorist exclusively, in 1889 appointed Professor of Art at the University of Southern California.



Though he exhibited his work here and in San Francisco from time to time, most of it went East and to Europe, especially England. In San Francisco his canvases often occupied the position of honor among examples of the best American and European water colorists. He had a reputation for soft atmospheric effects and exquisite blending of colors. A mere list of the titles of some of his paintings is most tantalizing and we hope that some day a retrospective showing of some, at least, of Ivey's work can be held in Los Angeles.

In December of 1888, Ivey had just completed two large pictures for patrons in England — one a scene in Eaton Canyon above Pasadena, and the other a view of Los Angeles from Angelino Heights at West Adams Boulevard and Western. Also, in his studio the observer noted a sketch titled, "After the Rain," made three miles beyond Colton on the road to Redlands, the San Bernardino range with snowy peaks in the distance. In it the artist had caught the greenness of the foothills after a rain and the silvery lights and transparent shadows of the blue mountains.

Another large picture he had just completed was that of the wrecked ship "*Respigidera*" beached near San Pedro, a sunset effect, warm in color, portraying the half sunken vessel under the cliffs at the lighthouse. Another charming work was a sunset effect from Westlake Park looking up Wilshire Boulevard toward Santa Monica. A shower had just fallen and silver-grey light was reflected on pools of water standing in the foreground. There was the green lustre of wet grass everywhere, two figures in the foreground, farm buildings in the distance, with the purple shadow of mountains. Another subject was Arch Rock, six miles from Santa Monica, painted with a sweep of afternoon light on the rugged cliff. Also currently on hand was a view of Glendale for Major Bonebrake, another of the same for Judge Ross of Glendale, and a view of Los Angeles from Hope street hill for a patron in Chicago. At the same time Ivey had twelve works, all with Los Angeles subjects, on display at the current San Francisco Watercolor Exhibition.<sup>83</sup>

Among subjects painted eastward of Los Angeles by Ivey was a study of some picturesque rocks in San Gabriel canyon, in reflected light, where even the grays on the massive boulders were tinged with sunset purple. In an exhibition in 1891 at Caledonia Hall, on Spring street near the Nadeau Hotel, were displayed his "Sawpit Canyon, Monrovia," and "Schwatchhouse Valley, Behind Old Baldy."<sup>84</sup>

The picture whose description is most intriguing of all to the present author's mind is one entitled "Dying Moments," a water color of large size, depicting sunset over Los Angeles on the last day

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of 1888. The view is northeastward from the hills above the city, there are details of trees and house tops in the foreground, the city in the middle distance below, and beyond, the mountains. Says the *Herald*: "Most striking are the brilliant yet warm color of the atmosphere, the delicate and tender green in the upper sky, contrasted with the warm crimson on city roofs and the rosy flush on the distant peaks, and the pure blue shadows of mountain canyons." The picture was being shown at the Boston Store on Spring street.<sup>85</sup>

At the Long Beach Chautauqua Assembly in July, 1890, a considerable number of Ivey's paintings were on exhibition and an art class under his enthusiastic leadership was a popular feature. It was probably at the Chautauqua that R. G. Chandler of Coldwater, Michigan, saw and was entranced by the Ivey exhibition and subsequently purchased an extensive selection of the canvases for his private collection at Coldwater. Chandler's collection was said to be the largest in the United States. The following Ivey watercolors went to Coldwater after preliminary exhibition in Chicago: "Sawpit Canyon," "Old San Bernardino Valley," "Last Sunset of 1888 Over Los Angeles," "Arch Rock," "Cave Rock, Catalina," "Sunset After Rain — Los Angeles," "St. Michel's Mount" (England), "Blarney's Castle," and "Nature's Mirror" (near Los Angeles).<sup>86</sup>

"Thus," said the *Times*, "another opportunity has occurred of revealing to eastern people the beauties of this favored State, and especially of the southern part." In addition to an undoubted artistic worth, Los Angeles newspapers were stressing the regional publicity of Ivey's water-colors, since they were being so widely distributed among potential immigration sources.

Prominent here in the middle 1880's was the versatile J. Bond Francisco — painter, musician, and recreational woodsman. Primarily a landscape painter, Francisco also had been music teacher in Los Angeles, leader in local chamber music activities, and for two years concert master of the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra. Born in Cincinnati in 1863, he came to Los Angeles in 1865 with his family. As a youth he studied violin at Berlin, Munich, and Paris. While in Berlin he relaxed from his musical activities by drawing and painting and soon he was pursuing a course of combined study of both painting and music.

Landscape with its long, wide vistas and sweeping effects attracted Francisco as much as the necessity for the careful detail work of portraits annoyed him. George Wharton James, a personal friend, said in 1913, "He was made for big things — big mountains, big trees, big outlook." He loved trees ("Old Friends"), mountains ("Snow Peak," "Green Pastures in Ojai Valley"), and the strength



and grace of horses ("The Lumber Team," "The Old Desert Stage").<sup>87</sup> Quoting Francisco, "The man who can transcribe nature on to canvas so as to please the public, and so as to make the thing felt, has done true work. The vivid coloring of the California landscape is difficult to master, but glorious in its effects, and prized among the wealthy of the East."

Fond of "roughing it" in the well equipped Theodore Rooseveltian manner, he often went out into the mountains with guns and fishing tackle and painting accessories for a stay of a week or two, sometimes accompanied by his wife. One of his oil paintings, of large size, made on such an expedition, depicted a sunset in the mountains of Ventura county as seen from the head of the pack trail that led from Matilija Canyon on the Sespe river.

Francisco had both a down-town studio and a suburban home. In this latter, with its splendid studio and music room, sixty-five feet long, with a spacious gallery, he did considerable entertaining. He was the favorite host of visiting musical celebrities from the East and Europe and he was known to have entertained whole opera companies. Said Francisco of his suburban place, with justifiable pride, "It doesn't look like much, but it's known from one ocean to the other as the place for a good time. It has heard at impromptu midnight musicales, some of the most beautiful music in the world." This vivid Bohemian had wandered in the course of his travels through many of the byways of Europe, where he had gathered a variety of unique collections that made this great den a museum as well as a music room and art gallery.<sup>88</sup>

The 1890's saw further activation of art interest and production in Los Angeles as well as important new developments. Beginning with less outstanding but nevertheless interesting details, by 1891 it came to be recognized that the numerous old building landmarks about to be pulled down to make way for more modern structures ought to be sketched or photographed for the benefit of posterity. A. H. Hutchinson was leader and chief mover in this worthy cause. He gathered a considerable collection of photographs made in previous years and a call was sent out through the *Herald* in April, 1891, for similar donations. An exhibition of historic pictures was to be held shortly at the Public Library to stimulate further interest.<sup>89</sup> The city newspapers became a boosters' agency for the movement, the *Times* in August, for example, displaying in its pages some good line drawings of historic Los Angeles buildings, including one of the original Los Angeles courthouse, and another of the first Protestant church building erected in Los Angeles (1859, Episcopalian).<sup>90</sup>

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The sidewalk quick-sketch artist displayed his deftness and slap-dash speed to advantage before down-town crowds. The *Herald* has a vivid description of the technique of one of the smocked fraternity. "This artist paints pictures while you wait. You can see him at work any day on a vacant lot on Spring street. He takes a canvas all framed and ready to hang on the wall — except that the picture isn't there. In about thirty minutes after he starts work, it is there. Maybe he starts in on the sky. He thrusts his brush in the blue paint, the sky grows under his dexterous touch. Then he allows the sky to dry and goes for the rail fence; next, the river running beside the fence. By this time the sky is dry enough for clouds — a dab of white here and there, and the clouds are on. Now for the cows — he puts in a blue cow, a red cow, a green cow, and a variegated one. The cows, legs cut off at the knees, are still floating in space like the rail fence and the river. So he puts in the foundation grass, and the picture begins to seem natural. Then he tones up the river, putting ripples here and there, and a bunch of cattails in the bends. Mountains go in the left hand corner, rough and unpromising at first, but toned up after they dry until they look natural enough to climb.

"All the features are now in except the trees. Trees are harder to paint than mountains, but the artist never hesitates. The location of trees in the picture doesn't seem to matter much. He slaps in a tall tree here and a bushy one there, and hangs on some foliage with green paint, and it begins to look first rate. More filling and touching up, and there is your picture, frame and all, a regular Keith or Landseer, only smoother in effect and not quite so much attention to detail."<sup>91</sup>

New technical reproduction methods applicable to photography brought, in 1895, an interesting bit of commercial cooperation between Schumacher, the photographer, and the dignified Los Angeles *Herald*. The subscriber (note: subscribers only) was invited to clip a printed coupon in a daily issue and bring it, together with the photograph he wished reproduced, to the Portrait Department of the *Herald*, together with from ninety cents to a dollar forty. He would then have reproduced for him, by the latest Electrical Crayon Method, a life-size portrait in black and white in a manner similar to that of a crayon sketch but with a finish "electrically produced, which is superior to any crayon work." Each and every one of these portraits was guaranteed "absolutely a Work of Art and an ornament to the finest mansion in the land. (Out of town orders by express twenty-five cents extra.)"

In further explanation, just in case the subscriber should pos-



sess no such old photograph, "The Herald never does anything for its subscribers in a half-way manner, and at great expense it has arranged with Schumacher the Photographer at 107 North Spring street to make a photograph of any Herald subscriber and turn this over to the Portrait Department of the Herald for reproduction. Prices do not include mat or frame." Prices of photographs as so reproduced: bust portrait, 14 by 17 inches with head  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, 90 cents; full length portrait, 14 by 17 inches, \$1.40.<sup>92</sup>

This type of photographer-newspaper collaboration was not exactly new; indeed a somewhat cruder version had attracted the attention of the police a few years earlier. A Los Angeles paper had advertised a \$50 crayon portrait for \$2, stipulating that a \$12 frame must be included in the purchase. Our vigilant authorities had discovered, upon complaint, that these were not really crayon portraits at all, but "sun photographs" or solar prints, which when developed could be enlarged in black and white or crayon color, requiring but a few freehand retouches with perhaps pastel or water colors to make them complete. These "solar prints," chemically produced, were found to fade rather rapidly when exposed to light.<sup>93</sup>

Art censorship by the chief of police had appeared by 1891, no doubt preceded by an appropriate investigating committee. M. H. Alter, an optician, was ordered to remove from his display window a copy of a painting in the Luxembourg in Paris, entitled "Sale of Circassian Girls at the Base of the Pyramids." Nude girls figured in the painting. The picture was removed. The *Herald* labeled the affair "a most ridiculous matter." Optician Alter commented: "It was a very foolish thing for the chief to do, and of course I could have made a good fight on the matter, but it was not worth a controversy. If the long-faced persons who complained to the police would visit any art store in the city, they would find similar pictures, and sometimes such as are really objectionable."<sup>94</sup>

The moral cleansing of the city's public places seems to have been completed when some years later, in 1896, the City Council decreed that the young woman whose form was currently publicized on local billboards was not suitably clad and hence to be banned from city boards and walls. Grumbles the *Herald*, "Nudity in art seems to be accepted here, however, when in a gilt frame in a studio or perchance a saloon."<sup>95</sup>

Los Angeles may have had a considerable reputation for hospitality to the plastic arts such as drawing and painting, but one *Express* subscriber at least, in 1892, expressed a vigorous blast concerning the apparent indifference of Angelinos to the need for encouragement of sculpture. "Our public buildings and grounds are

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as naked of such adornment as are our native hills. Not a pedestal or niche is found in any one of our costly city and county buildings, nor is there any statuary in our parks." Then an unkind remark about a wall! "For some reason, sculpture or working in stone has not yet been developed at all, unless we except the wall about the new Court House. But that is merely a work in granite; indeed statuary would be very much out of place anywhere near it. That wall is unlike anything that has preceded it in ancient or modern times."<sup>96</sup>

By 1895, though, Los Angeles seems to have taken sculpture more seriously, for a *Herald* advertisement in 1895 says brightly, "Tomorrow the great statue of Ada Rehan, Montana's pride, can be seen at A. Hamburger & Sons." The statue was of a female figure, presented full front, standing on a globe, shielding which is a spread eagle. She held an alert sword in her right hand and a scale in her left. School children especially were invited, preferably in groups accompanied by their teachers. An illustrative cut of this masterpiece of sculpture, together with its descriptive text, was placed at the top of an otherwise full page of dry-goods items.<sup>97</sup>

The conventional type of art dealer, handling principally the work of outside artists, was still prominent in this decade, exemplified by Frederic C. Torrey, who opened his annual picture display in the parlors of the Westminster Hotel in March, 1895. The collection consisted of water colors, etchings, engravings, and art photographs. The photos were Hollyer carbon reproductions of paintings by Watts, Burne-Jones, and others; the etchings from plates by Dürer, Rembrandt, Corot, and Whistler. Among the water-colorists were Marjoribanks Hay, an English artist whose landscapes were popular here; and there were landscapes in oils by J. M. Bansley, a Canadian, and the English T. C. Dibdin; while representing America were H. J. Breur with two landscapes, and E. M. Bicknell.<sup>98</sup>

We should remark that beginning in the early 1890's, an art column began to be featured from time to time by local newspapers, in particular the *Herald*. Local art news and gossip were there combined with wider developments elsewhere in California and in the East. In these columns we find the names of many minor artists not as yet rating more than current mention, and yet considered worthy of the encouragement of such publicity. In 1892 we find, for example, reference to the return to the city of Colonel Yerks, veteran portrait painter and Civil War veteran now 80 years of age; to George Sturgis, local portraitist; and to Mr. Swing, crayonist. "Mrs. St. John, who has made a reputation here during the last



three years, will return to Paris. A. F. Harmer, formerly of Los Angeles, now resides in San Francisco."<sup>99</sup>

The California Missions were now receiving considerable attention by Los Angeles artists. Amadeo McGarry, a portraitist who had resided here since 1887, had come to be known as an etcher of Western scenes, in particular of the old Missions, and in 1892 he was preparing to publish a book on these monuments of the padres' rule, with both illustrations and text by himself. Besides Edwin Deakin, above mentioned, Helen D. Coan contributed water-colors to the Mission motif, among which was her "Belfry of San Gabriel." Eugene Torrey, another water-colorist, added some thirty-five views of the Southern California Missions. Torrey, who had a studio in the Potomac Block and specialized in the Mission genre, had made his debut in 1886 in Paris.<sup>100</sup>

Perhaps the chief development in Los Angeles art during the 1890's was the emergence of mutual activity among local artists to improve their publicity and their financial position. At first this was attempted by the publicized exhibitions of the work of single artists or by cooperative showings of an informal nature. These displays were held in commercial or art stores or in private studios, as when in the spring of 1892 "an elegant display of etchings at the Art Emporium attracted attention lately," or "during the last month a notable exhibition of Miss Dural's work was held at Kugeman's art gallery, and space is now being prepared for the work of Edith White, Mrs. Jordan, and Regina O'Kane, who leave shortly for further study at the New York Art Students' League."<sup>101</sup>

Some artists, to be sure, felt little need or desire for self-advertising, but pursued the even tenor of their way with consistent displays of work in their own studios. Among these was Miss M. S. Fish, whose quarters on Boyle Heights, then an agreeably country-like community, were filled with her paintings — portraits, flowers, and landscapes. One of these especially seemed to be the fulfillment of the real estater's dream: "There is Old Baldy in the distance, standing solitary in his majestic grandeur, his snowy crest white against the sky. Nearer is the purple of the Sierra Madre range, and nearer still the green-clad foothills with their spring robes of lush grasses. In the foreground is a glimpse of the Los Angeles river, and of the old bridge, together with one or two cottage homes. It is a peaceful scene, one where winter merely frowns impotently upon the unbroken calm and beauty of endless summer."<sup>102</sup>

So numerous were artists becoming that by 1893 certain portions of town began to resemble Greenwich Village or the Parisian

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Left Bank. The upper floor of the Bryson Building, for example, was "inhabited by male artists wearing fez caps, and by women who paint in water-colors and sing 'Nearer My God to Thee.'" Ten or twelve of these painters opened an exhibition of their work in the rotunda of the building. The titles at least of these pictures were tempting, as for instance: Regina O'Kane's "Old Chinatown" and "Leafy Lane in Santa Monica," and Mrs. L. H. Jordan's "Cypress Point at Monterey" and "Haying Time."<sup>103</sup>

An important lack in Los Angeles art life was a suitable space in which to exhibit a considerable number of paintings, involving considerations of roominess, central location, proper supervision, and other factors. A municipal art gallery or museum did not exist in Los Angeles, and it has always been difficult for a group of individualistic artists to arrange with an equally individualistic art dealer for a friendly showing of their works, especially if the paintings are not under specific sales assignment. A lucky find was made in 1890 by some Los Angeles painters in Sanborn & Vail of Pasadena. In March of that year, accordingly, a number of local canvases were on show there, Los Angeles painters represented including Miss E. Bixby, Albert Jenks, Miss Goodwin, Frank Lidell, Miss Howes, and Mr. Koch. Most of the pictures represented European scenes, especially French, but Miss Howes depicted California poppies gleaming with the satiny gold texture of spring hillsides, while Koch offered a view of San Gabriel Mission.<sup>104</sup>

In the nature of a trail breaker was a series of large exhibits held for a number of years by the Ruskin Art Club, beginning in 1890. The Club, aware of the need in Los Angeles for a public art gallery and for the kind of collection that could appropriately be shown in such a gallery, decided to start events moving by bringing to town a first-rate group of etchings for extended viewing. Its first exhibition was held in January of 1890 and was well received.

The Ruskin Club's second annual showing brought to Los Angeles one of the best groups of etchings ever assembled anywhere, and the finest prints ever seen west of Philadelphia. It opened in January, 1891, at the Potomac Block, 223 Broadway. There were 341 prints, mostly etchings, many of them real masterpieces of the art. Beginning with Albrecht Dürer in 1471, every phase of the art was illustrated, coming down through the centuries to the 1890's, to the currently popular art of engraving on wood as practiced by Elbridge Kingsley and John F. Davis. There were many valuable original etchings — eleven original Rembrandts — eighteen of Dürer's prints, and examples of Claude Lorraine, Millet, Meissonier, Ap-pian, and Whistler. The greatest contemporary etcher, Seymour



Hoden, was represented by nineteen plates. Most notable was the celebrated Chandos portrait of Shakespeare, etched by Leopold Flammeng.<sup>105</sup>

The Ruskin Art Club's exhibition for the year after, 1892, was displayed modestly in the reading room of the Public Library. Represented in this showing were the etchings and engravings of mainly French, Flemish, and Italian artists including Carraci, Manteuil, Edelinck, Muller, Woollett, Bewic, Boucher-Desnoyer, Visscher, and others. At this time the Ruskin Club was actively engaged in raising funds to purchase this not too ambitious collection as nucleus for a local art gallery. Its members envisioned erection of a multi-purpose building, housing not only the art gallery but the public library itself, which was then accommodated inconveniently in the City Hall, and finally a museum of Southern California antiquities. The financial panic and subsequent depression that soon came upon the whole country disposed of this laudable ambition, and it was not until far past the turn of the century that the County Museum of History, Science, and Art was established.<sup>106</sup> In 1894 a collection of Polish pictures from the World's Fair was shown here and put up for sale at auction. At that time it was again urged that these be purchased as starter for an Art Museum, but to no avail.<sup>107</sup>

As close perhaps as we were to come toward achieving a permanent and public collection of art here during the 1890's was with a group of paintings a hundred fifty to five hundred years of age, originally part of the plunder seized by Napoleonic soldiers in various parts of Europe. Many of them were in poor condition, unskillfully restored, or even cut down in size. These paintings were bought at a bargain and brought here by T. P. Harmon, formerly of San Francisco, and R. A. Boccasini, with a view of making it the focus and talking point for their new art school at Los Angeles. In September of 1896 the paintings were on exhibition in the Wilcox Building.<sup>108</sup>

It was the formation, eventually, of an art association, of an organization run by and for artists, that was to improve vastly both artist publicity and exhibition facilities. The idea had been broached and developed as early as 1890 by J. Gutzon Borglum, the famous sculptor, who started his art career in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Art Club, in which Borglum was a leading spirit, held its first meeting on February 9, 1890. Its aims were in summary: to unite for mutual advantage, to hold quarterly exhibits, to present lectures on art topics, to assist in the formation of a higher standard of art, to assist local talent, and to encourage the coming here of first-rate artists. Regular weekly meetings were scheduled at which

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members were to submit for criticism sketches on pre-arranged subjects, to discuss art matters, and to draw from models. Officers were: Henry Merritt, President; J. Gutzon Borglum, Vice-President; Mr. Thane, Secretary and Treasurer. The club met at Borglum's studio at 37 South Fort street, which was suitably large and well lighted.<sup>109</sup> Borglum, however, soon left for study in Europe and the club dispersed.

A Sketch Club, of mainly amateur membership, was formed about 1890 in connection with the art classes of Gordon Macleod, in the so-called Los Angeles School of Art and Design. The Sketch Club some time later, about 1892, was more formally organized as an Art Association. Its membership now included a considerable number of professional artists. Up to 1894, exhibitions by the Association were held in the Macleod school's exhibition rooms at 110 West Second street. Here also were held the school's classes for the instruction of amateurs in the art of charcoal and crayon drawing, oil and water-color painting, sketching from life and from cast models.

In 1894, when the exhibition facilities at the School of Design's rooms had become inadequate, an agreement was made with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce whereby the Chamber would furnish the Art Association with ample exhibition space at its newly opened quarters at Fourth and Broadway in exchange for five per cent of the purchase price of each picture as sold. In November, 1894, the first exhibition was held in the new location. Of the two rooms, which were profusely decorated for the opening with palms and flowers, one was devoted entirely to oil paintings and the other to water colors, pastel, black-and-white, and a collection of old steel engravings and rare prints.

Showing examples of their work were artists Gordon Macleod, Guy Rose, J. Bond Francisco, W. L. Judson, R. D. Yelland, H. Chapman Ford, Henry Koch, Julius Ludovici, Rev. J. T. Fletcher, and others. An attractive sample of J. Bond Francisco's talent was a canvas representing the San Fernando valley stretching away to the hills on the far horizon, the only figure of a solitary horseman in the middle distance. Most prominent of all, perhaps, was the work of Guy Rose, who had by this time emerged as one of Los Angeles' best painters. He will be discussed in detail on a later page. The famous William Keith of San Francisco also had a picture on display, a landscape in subdued tones representing flat lowlands with cattle in the foreground, a glimpse of sunlight on a low spur of hills to the right, and dim blue distance under a cloudy sky. A jury of five artists had passed on every picture presented for admission, its



members being J. Bond Francisco (chairman), Elmer Wachtel, Henry Koch, Fanny E. Duvall, and Edith White.

A number of Chamber of Commerce members prior to this exhibition had vigorously opposed any cooperation with the Art Association, but when the rooms proved to be thronged daily with well-dressed picture viewers and buyers their hostility to the new venture faded into mild approval.<sup>110</sup>

The Art Association arranged for a series of local talent lectures at the Macleod school, detailed as follows: On Feb. 26, 1895, Rev. J. C. Fletcher, *Painting of the Greeks*, and Guy Rose, *Art in France*; On March 19, Mrs. George Caswell, *Classical Architecture*; April 16, Mrs. Gordon Macleod, *Impressionists Old and New*, and Mr. Woodman, *Technique of the Old Masters*; May 21, Mrs. Eliza A. Otis, *California Scenery Artistically Viewed*, and W. L. Judson, *Student Life in Paris*; June 18, Sr. S. H. Weller, *Titian and his Work*. These lectures were informally given with supplementary activity, as when at the "Impressionists" lecture in April, Mrs. A. M. Hicks also recited Howell's "College Boat Race," and T. S. Van Dyke, a local writer, described a Monet canvas he had seen in Chicago ("close up, a mere daub, but at thirty feet a masterpiece").<sup>111</sup> The lectures were continued in 1896, when another series was presented, the first talk in January, by Mrs. George Caswell on "Gothic Architecture." A musical program, featured by duets and a harp solo, preceded and followed the lecture.<sup>112</sup>

Jealousy between rival groups of artists, or other basic dissension (as perhaps on Impressionism vs. Realism and Story-Telling), however, soon led to the formation of a rival artists' association, the Society of Fine Arts of Southern California. It was organized on February 6, 1895, and incorporated on February 21. John D. Bicknell was elected President, J. S. Slauson Vice-President, T. M. Stewart, Secretary, and J. M. Elliott, Treasurer. J. Gutzon Borglum was a member, also J. Bond Francisco, Elmer Wachtel, Chas. Ward, Eugene Torrey, Edith White, Ida Mitchell, L. J. Jordan, Fortune DeCoute, Eleanor B. Caldwell, Regina O'Kane, F. E. Duvall, Marie A. Aly, Margaret Ashmead, M. Stevens, and G. E. Little — all local artists. Its object was stated as being "to advance the knowledge and love of art through exhibitions, by lectures and instruction, the formation of an art library, and the promotion of general culture."

The Chamber of Commerce, now an apparently enthusiastic servitor of art, made available also to the nascent Society of Fine Arts some suitable display rooms in their building. Among work exhibited here during the early winter months of 1895 were J

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Bond Francisco's "The Desert," H. D. Nichols' "In Echo Canyon," and J. Gutzon Borglum's "The Cloud." Mrs. P. A. Dow acted as curator.<sup>113</sup>

In an exhibition in November, 1895, eighty-four pictures by twenty-five Los Angeles painters were on the walls, many, says the *Express*, "fresh from the easels, the paint hardly dry." There were oils and water colors by Borglum (as "The Horse Thief" and "Sunny Slope," purchased by Spencer H. Smith of San Gabriel), two portraits and two landscapes by Francisco ("On the Zaca Ranch"), and water-colors by Wachtel ("Storm Clouds in the Arroyo"). Regina O'Kane's "An Old Mission Storehouse" is described as a composition full of feeling, in which "the rich colors of the draperies dragged from their chest are wonderfully harmonized." C. S. Ward's Mission studies and landscapes were "painted with his own feeling for the luminous, tender, yet rich color and melting atmosphere of Southern California."<sup>114</sup>

*(To be continued)*

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63. Los Angeles *Herald*, Jan. 8, 1885.
64. Los Angeles *Commercial*, March 6, 1880.
65. Los Angeles *Herald*, May 19, 1887 (p 1 col 6).
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71. Los Angeles *Herald*, Oct. 28, 1888 (p 9 col 6).
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73. Los Angeles *Commercial*, Sept. 16, 17, 1881.
74. Los Angeles *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1882.
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# THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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84. Los Angeles *Herald*, Jan. 23, 1891 (p 3 col 2).
85. Los Angeles *Herald*, Feb. 11, 1889.
86. Los Angeles *Times*, July 24, 1890.
87. George Wharton James, "J. Bond Francisco — Musician and Painter," *Out West*, 6, (1913), 79-94.
88. Los Angeles *Times*, June 23, 1901 (IV P 1-2).
89. Los Angeles *Herald*, April 8, 1891 (p 8 col 1).
90. Los Angeles *Times*, Aug. 16, 1891. T. E. Rowan also made an important collection of such photographs and drawings.
91. Los Angeles *Herald*, Jan. 11, 1895 (p 9 col 5).
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93. Los Angeles *Herald*, May 22, 1892 (p 9 col 4).
94. Los Angeles *Herald*, Aug. 11, 1891 (p 3 col 3).
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96. Los Angeles *Express*, April 28, 1892.
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98. Los Angeles *Herald*, March 7, 1895 (p 9 col 2). Los Angeles *Herald*, April 15, 1895 (p 10 col 1).
99. Los Angeles *Herald*, March 27, 1892 (p 9 col 2).
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106. Los Angeles *Herald*, April 13, 1892 (p 3 col 2).
107. Los Angeles *Herald*, Dec. 25, 1894.
108. Los Angeles *Herald*, Sept. 17, 1896 (p 6 col 4-5).
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*(Continued from the March QUARTERLY)*

*A portfolio series of charcoal drawings of the  
California Missions by*

FRANK A. SCHILLING

PART II





SAN  
(Photo

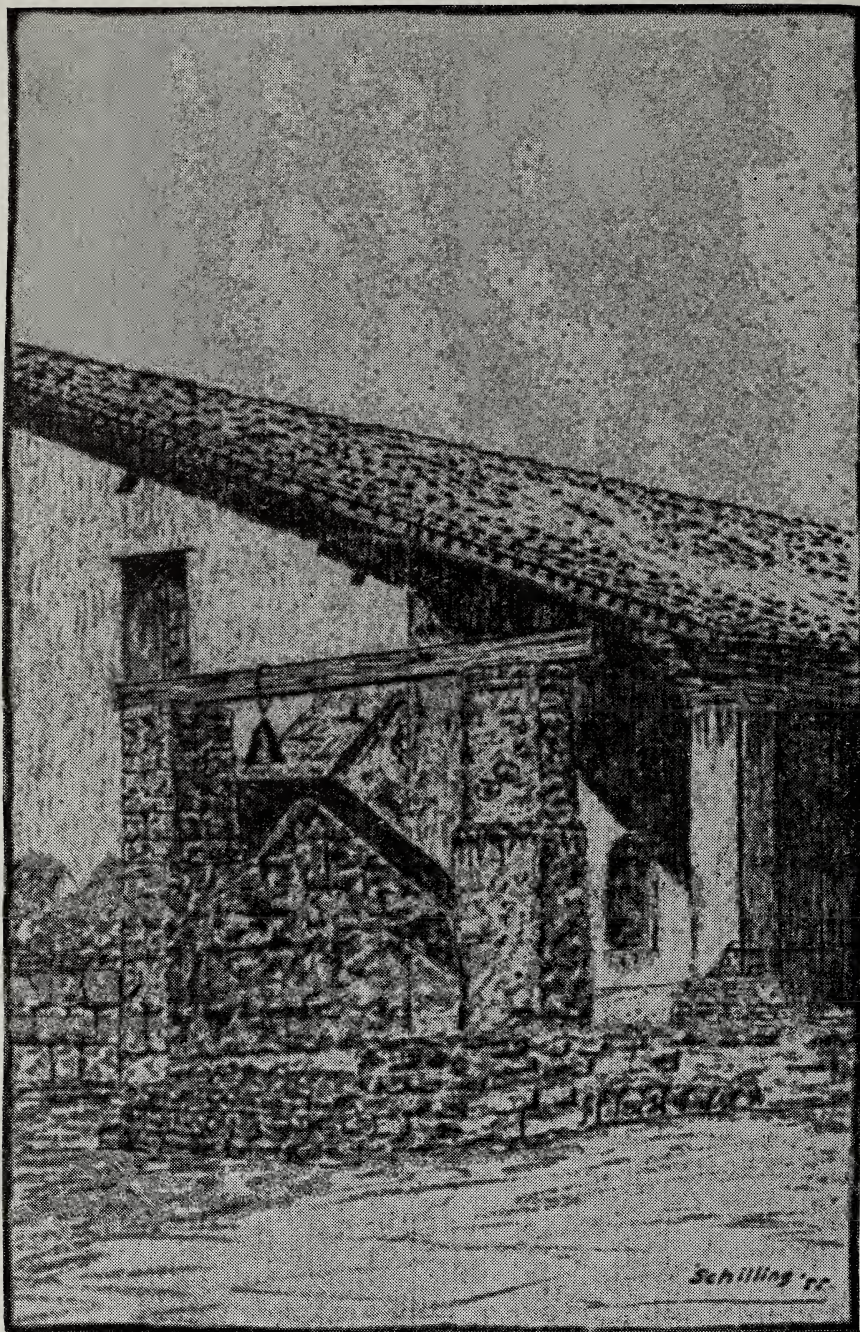


*Mission Sketchbook*



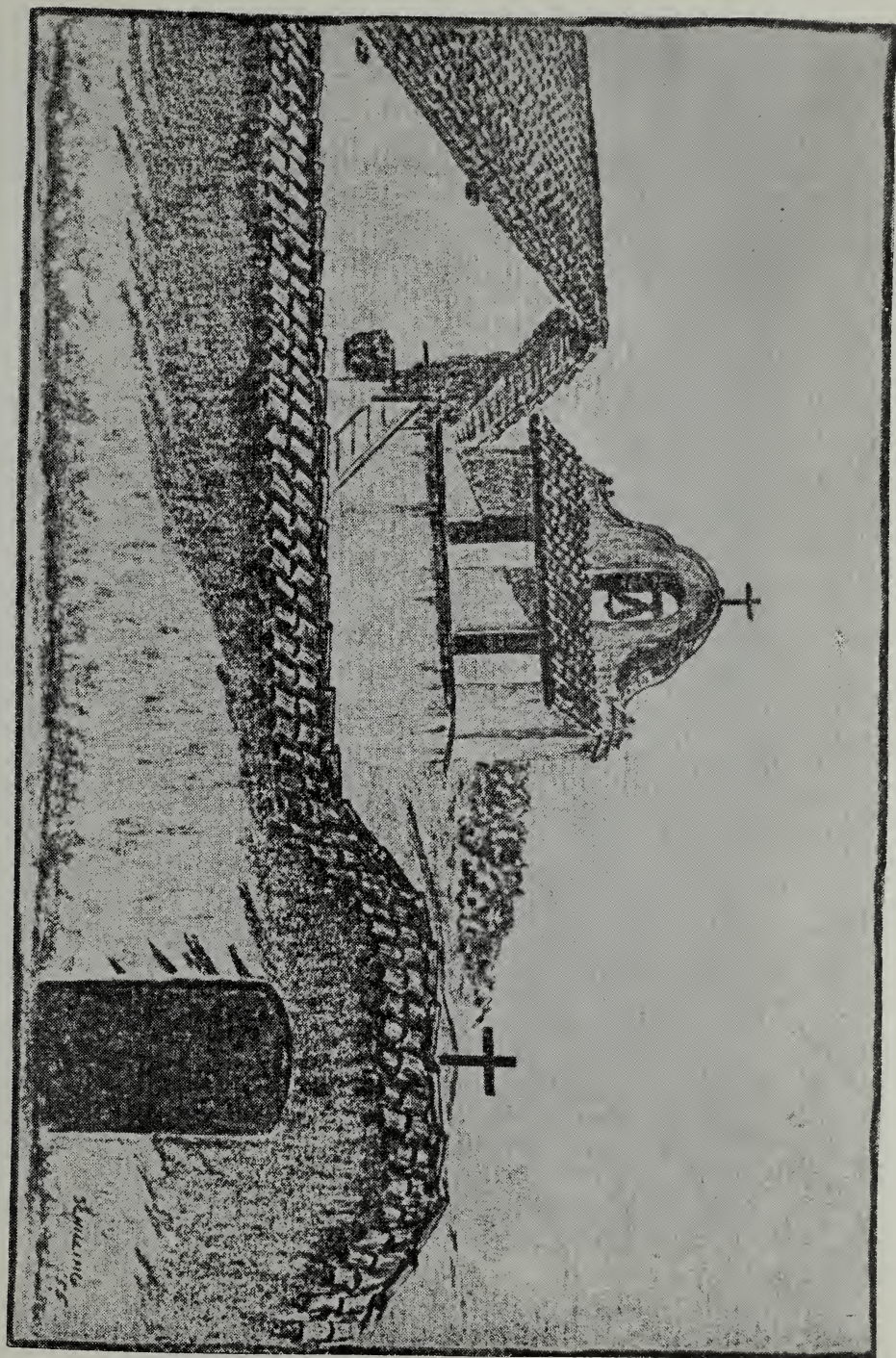
LARA  
(1941)





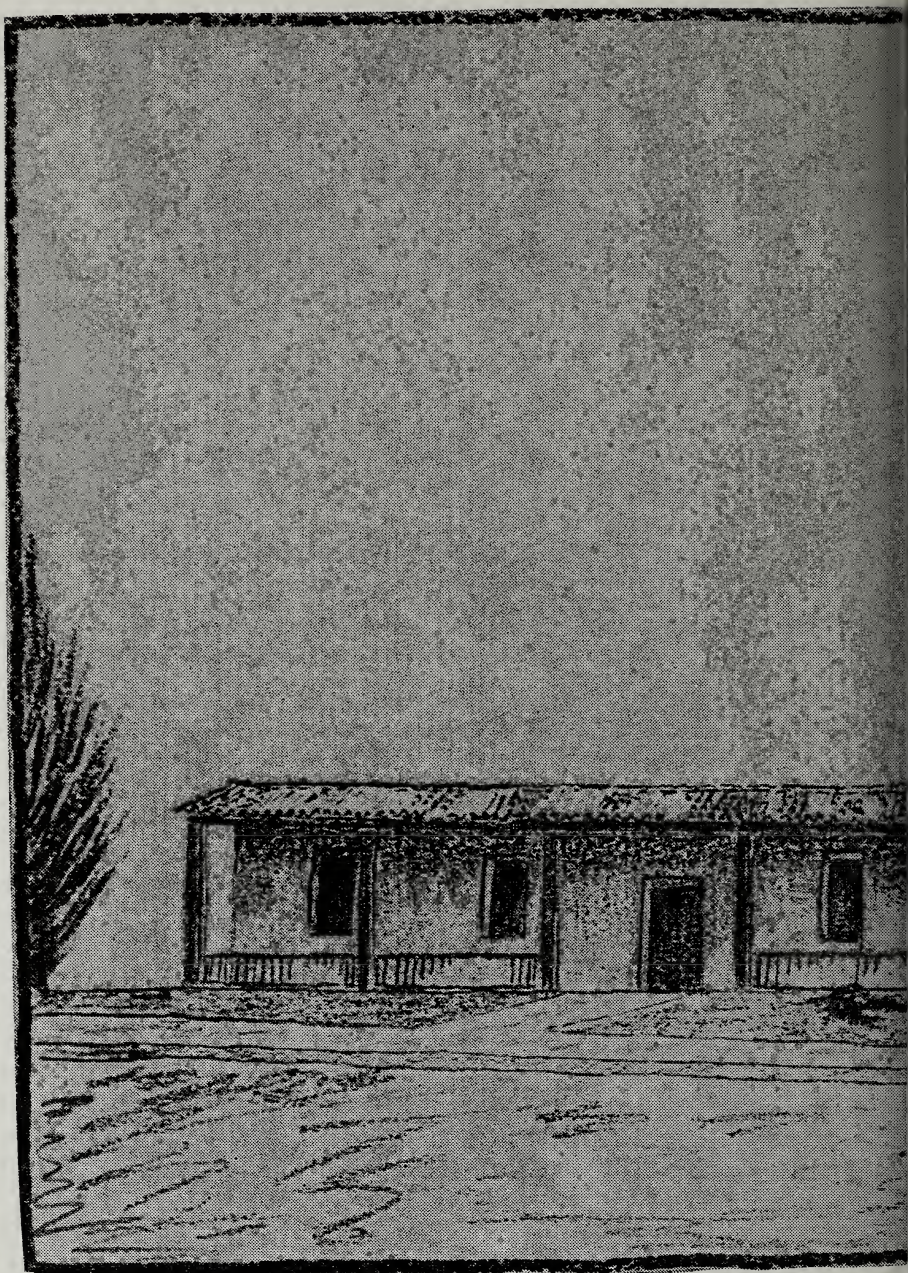
LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION  
(Photographed 1941)





LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION  
(Photographed 1941)

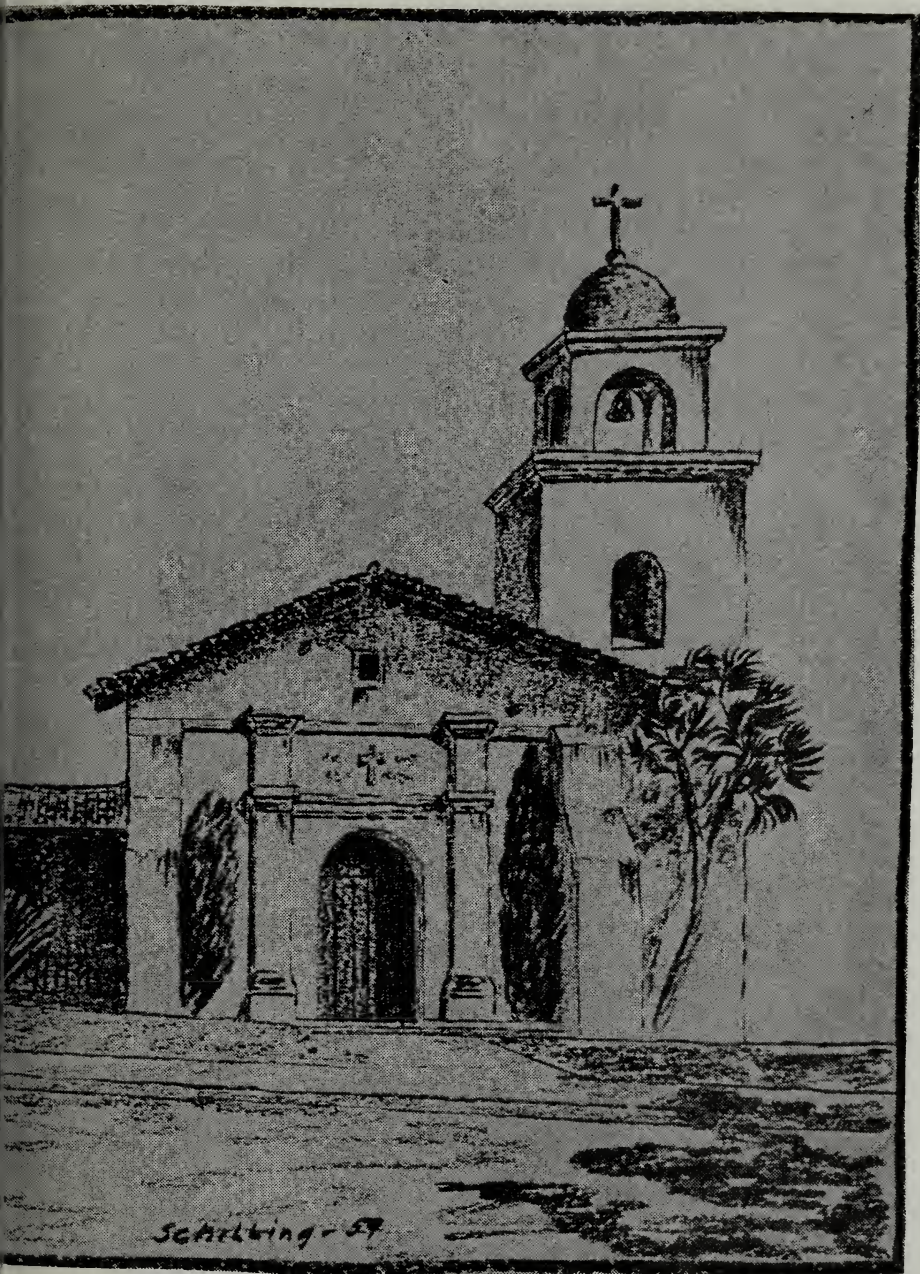




SAN  
(Photograph)

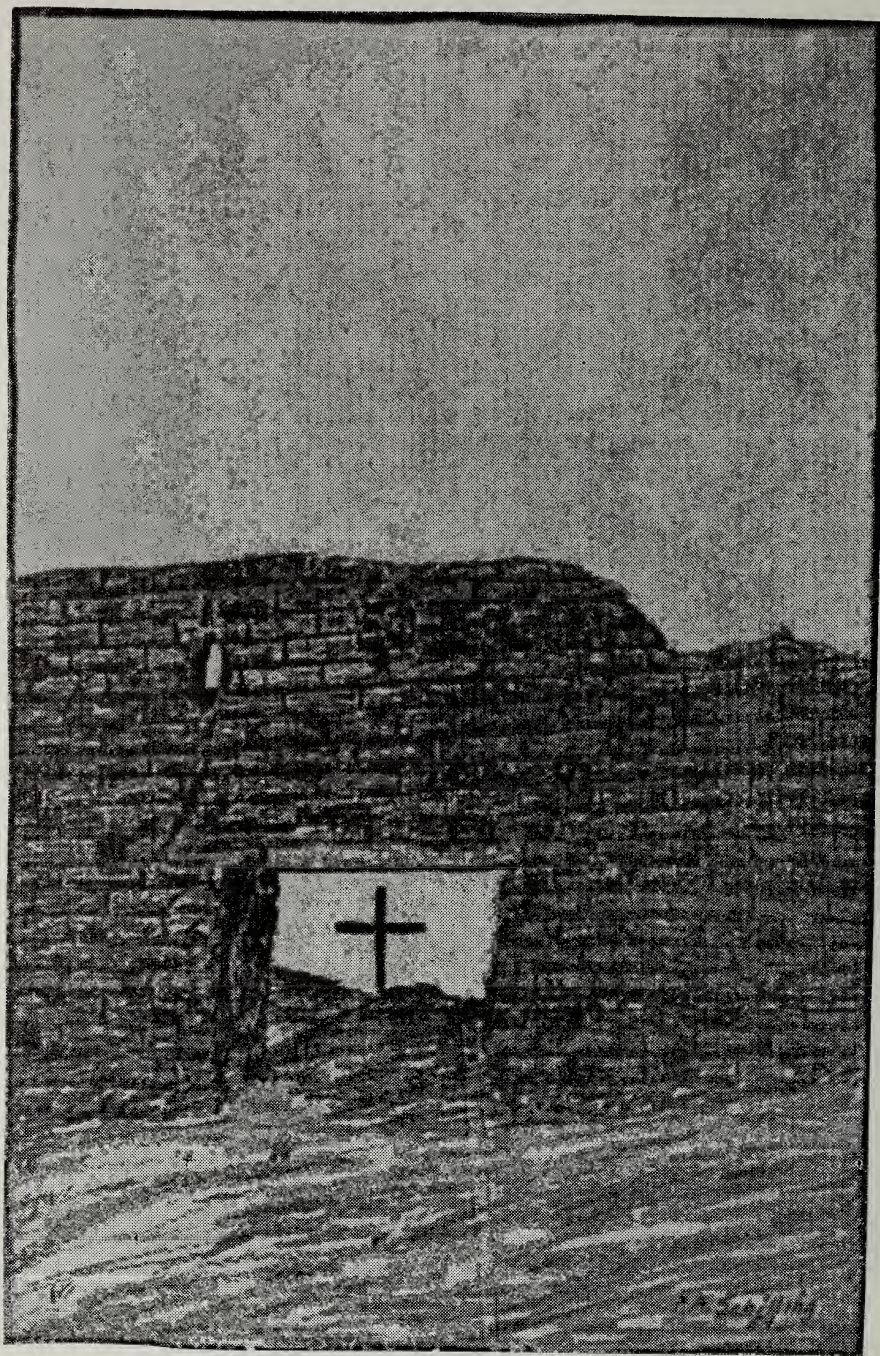


*Mission Sketchbook*



RUZ  
(1941)





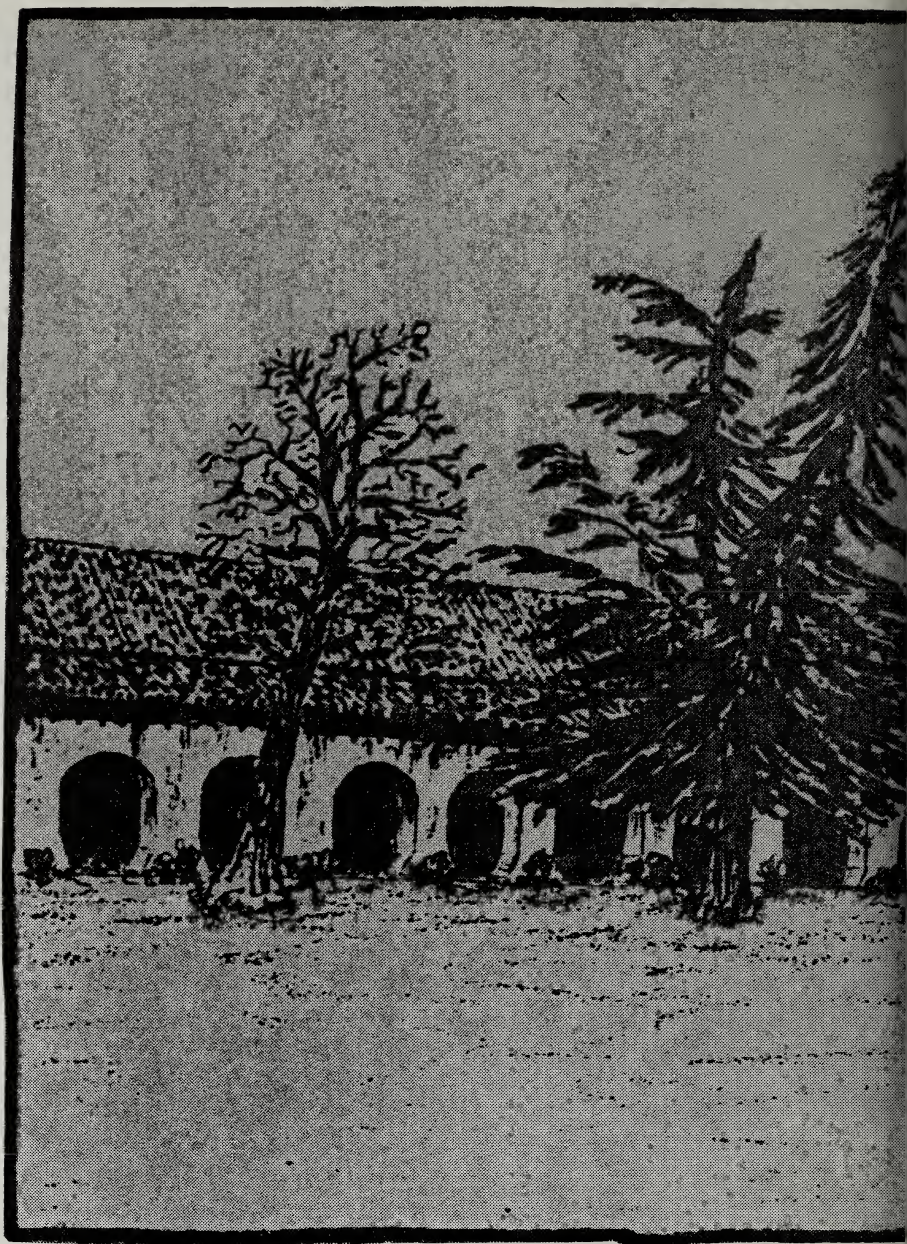
SOLEDAD  
(Photographed 1953)





SOLEDA  
(Photographed 1953)





SAN JUAN  
(Photo)

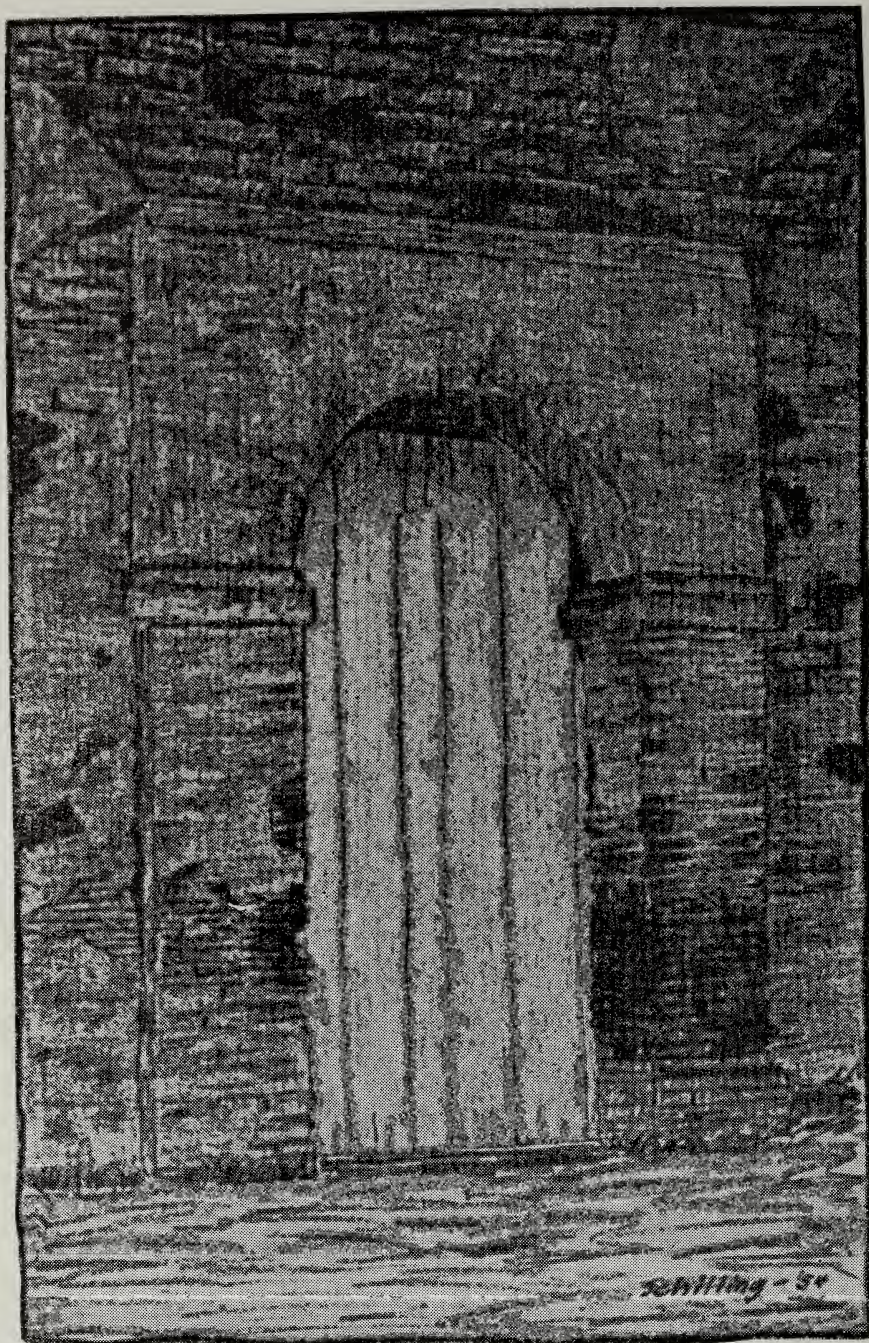


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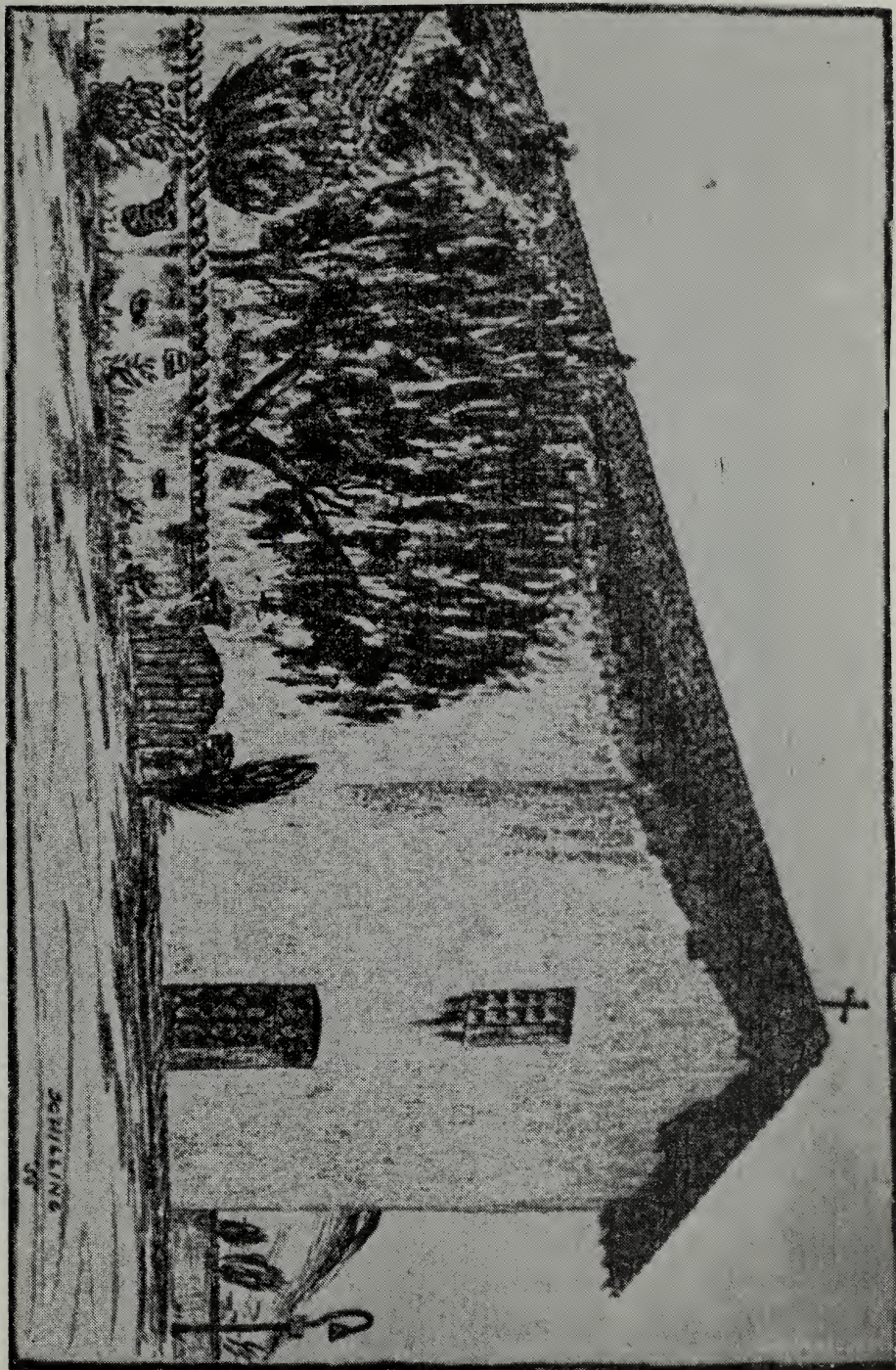
UTISTA  
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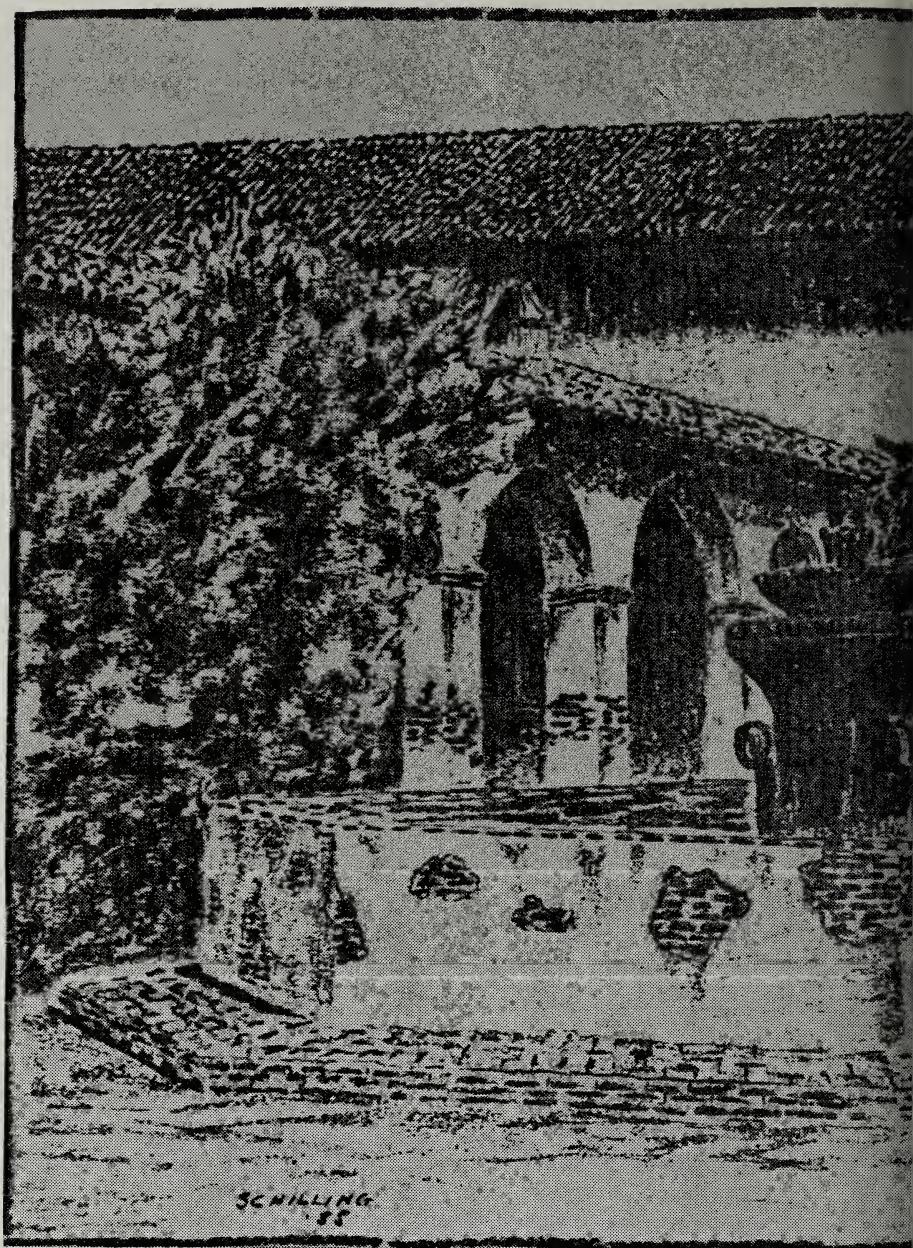
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA  
(Photographed 1953)





SAN MIGUEL  
(Photographed 1940)

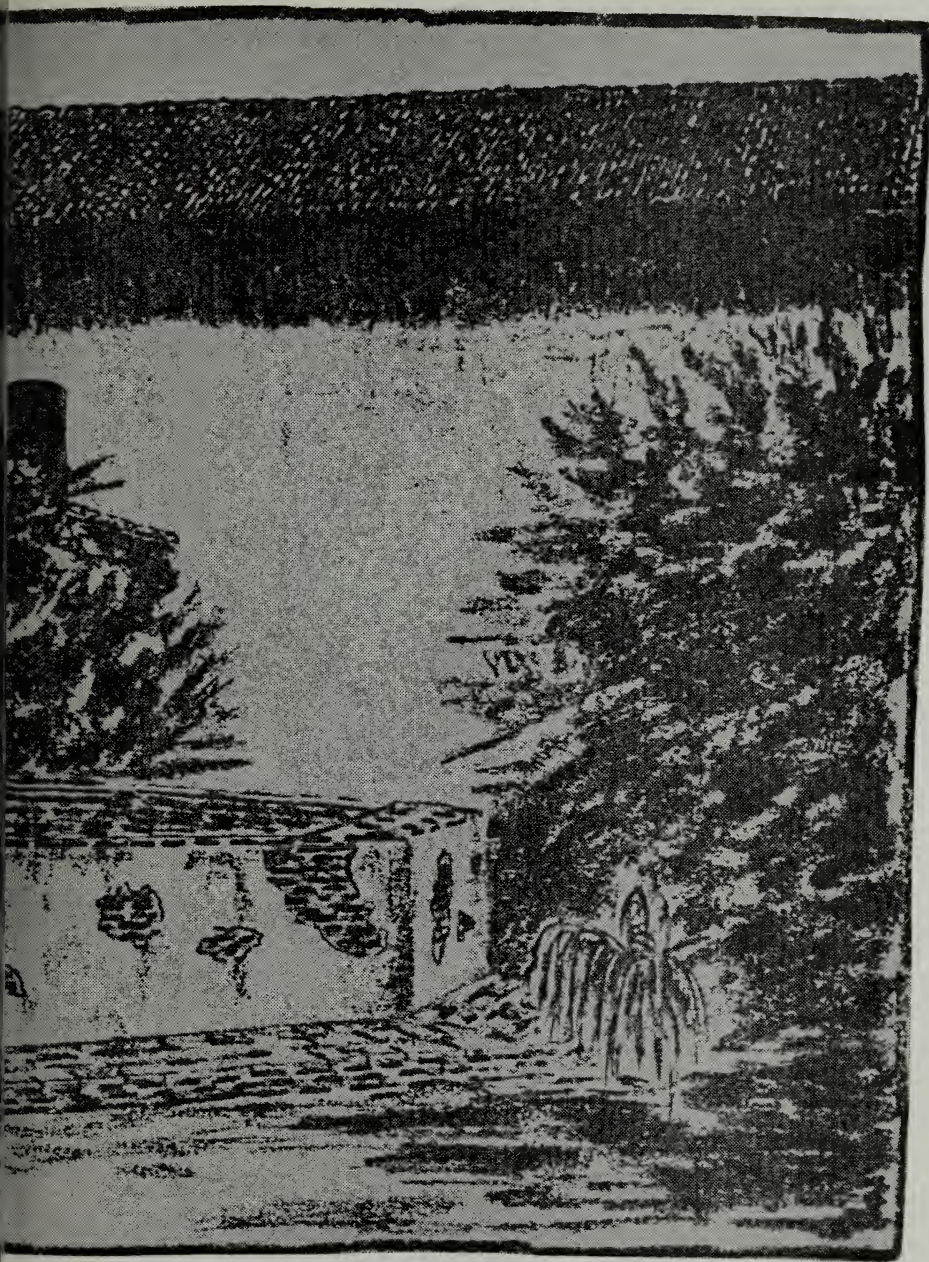




SAN  
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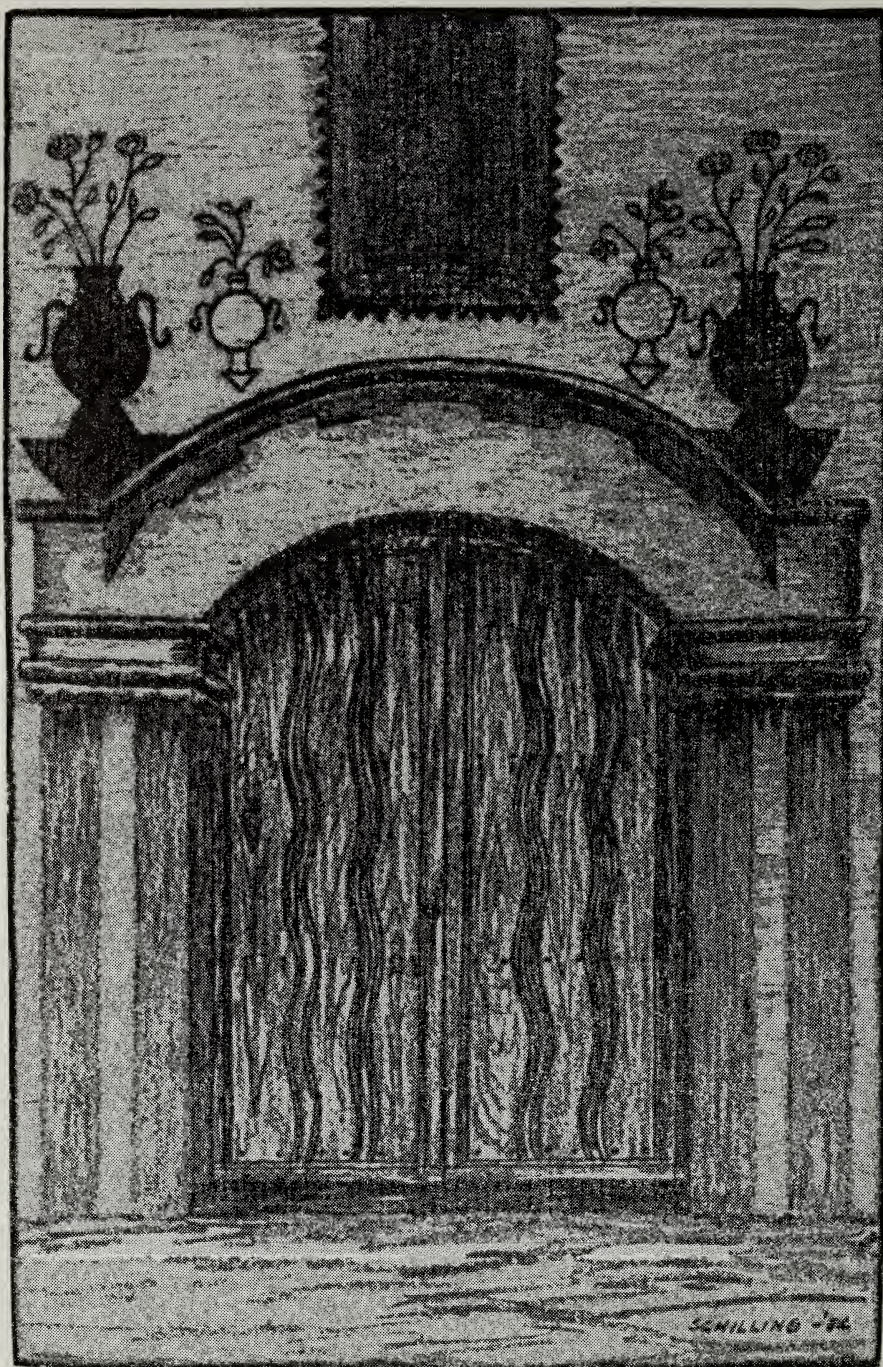


*Mission Sketchbook*



VEL  
(1946)





SAN FERNANDO  
(Photographed 1944)



# The Chinese in the Mining Camps of California: 1848-1870

*By David V. DuFault*



URING THE TWO YEARS FOLLOWING the announcement of the California gold strike in Hong Kong in 1848, the Chinese did not emigrate to North America in great numbers. By 1850, however, the Chinese had been attracted sufficiently by the stories of wealth and high wages to accept seriously the idea of coming to California to better their positions. Although in 1850 there were only 660<sup>1</sup> Chinese in California, by 1860 the number had increased to 34,933 and by 1870 had reached 49,277.<sup>2</sup> Largely from the working classes, the "Celestials"<sup>3</sup> were given, at first, a cordial welcome in San Francisco. By 1852, the reception had become less friendly, especially in the mining areas where the anti-foreign feeling came to be directed primarily against the Chinese. The famous Foreign Miners Tax was an excellent example of early state discriminatory legislation that attempted to force these Orientals from the mining camps.

On the local level, from 1852 on, many attempts were made to drive the Chinese out of the mines. Friederich Gerstaecker, a talented German writer, noted a man with "fiery red hair" trying to force Chinese miners off their claims.<sup>4</sup> In Shasta County, the sheriff had to use force to stop a mob intent on running out a group of Orientals.<sup>5</sup> In the same county in 1855 a miners' committee met and claimed that the Chinese had taken over all the placer diggings. They prophesied that a great deal of bloodshed would result.<sup>6</sup> The residents of Tuolumne County were no more tolerant of the Asians. In a local ordinance they resolved that:

All foreigners in Tuolumne County except persons engaged in permanent business and of reputable character, be required to leave the limits of said county within 15 days from this date unless they obtain a permit to remain from a committee of three to be chosen or selected by the American citizens of each camp or diggings.<sup>7</sup>



Again, at Mormon Bar in 1852 the Chinese were driven out. The most common occurrence, by far, was the scaring of the "Celestials" off individual claims, but this decreased within a few years as the Chinese usually worked only the poor diggings.<sup>8</sup>

In Columbia, on May 8, 1852, because the citizens felt California's legislature to be incapable of "any efficient action," they took matters into their own hands and appointed a vigilance committee to exclude Asians from the mines.<sup>9</sup> This same type of action was taken at Rough and Ready, Wood's Creek, Foster's Bar, and Yuba River Camp.<sup>10</sup> As late as 1859, Governor Weller had to send one hundred and thirteen men to Shasta County to quell an anti-Chinese riot.<sup>11</sup>

Supposedly, such factors as the Civil War, Nevada Silver, and the building of the transcontinental railroad calmed the inflamed passions of the anti-Chinese factions for the first half of the sixties, but by December of 1867, the same spirit of nativism was back in the mining camps. The Chinese were driven out of French Corral, in Nevada County, and their cabins destroyed. Twenty-seven men were arrested for this mob violence. One man was tried and found guilty. He received a fine of \$100, and the rest of the rioters were dismissed.<sup>12</sup> But the year 1867 marked a high point of anti-Chinese agitation; the anti-coolie clubs became strong, and the entire issue was taken over by organized labor. The Chinese, during the sixties, had gone into many sections of the economy, and so, naturally, labor was placing blame for increasing unemployment on these unfortunate Asians.

The Chinese were forbidden to testify in the courts. This quite obviously put the Chinese in an untenable position. Many depredations were committed against the "Celestials" and went unpunished. Sometimes, the Chinese were forced to take care of themselves.

In 1867 a man named George Washington attempted to rob several Chinese. Instead, the Chinese turned on him, beat him up, and carried their captive to the authorities. The Orientals' testimony was thrown out, and eventually George went free, to be shot by a white man at a later date. Again, in 1866, the Chinese had to decoy another thief into an ambush in order to end his career with a shotgun blast.<sup>13</sup>

In Mariposa, in 1868, when a Chinese was murdered, the sheriff did not become excited. Indeed, he "learned nothing in regard to the present condition of the wounded Chinaman or the amount stolen."<sup>14</sup> In another incident in 1869, the *Mariposa Gazette* reported the robbery of two Chinamen who would, the

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editorial said, never get their money back because the crime had been committed by white men.<sup>15</sup> Finally, a few years later, another Chinese died violently, but "little trouble was taken to ascertain particulars as he was a bumner Chinaman."<sup>16</sup>

Reason did prevail in the minds of some men, however. Harry Wells, who wrote, in 1880, the *History of Nevada County, California*, thought the limitation of Chinese testimony was "unfair to the Chinese as they are made the victims of robberies . . ."<sup>17</sup> In 1868, Charles L. Brace, an Eastern observer, also was highly critical of the state for not making the Chinese equal under the law,<sup>18</sup> while as early as 1862, the Joint Select Committee of the State Legislature had issued the following statement: "Instead of driving them [the Chinese] out of the state, bounties might be offered them to cultivate rice [or] tea . . ."<sup>19</sup>

The examples of anti-Chinese feeling are limitless and far outweigh the favorable or pro-Chinese incidents. The legislation (much of which was declared unconstitutional) and mob violence are of permanent shame to California. Why did the Californians react in such violent ways to a group of men who came to the state seeking only what was to the whites a modest livelihood? The causes of this phenomenon have been given repeatedly by contemporary observers. They thought the Chinese, who worked for very low wages, were taking jobs away from Americans and that they could not compete with these Orientals. The Chinese differed in dress, habits and religion; their morals were often considered extremely low. Many citizens professed distress over the great numbers of Chinese supposedly waiting to come to California. Former Governor Burnett, looking toward the continued, free immigration, stated that "Nothing is more probable than that China within the next century will fully learn and use her mighty power."<sup>20</sup>

All these fears and assertions were discernable in the mining districts as well as in the city. In 1852 Franklin Buck, a merchant, was alarmed about the number of people in China, and, as if to offer evidence of the impending doom of California, notes that eighteen Chinese women had just arrived in Weaverville.<sup>21</sup> It is clearly evident, however, that the Chinese hordes did not materialize during the thirty-two years of free immigration.

The miners easily recognized the differences between the Chinese and other foreign elements of the population. Herein lies one of the basic reasons for the discrimination against the "Celestial." And, of course, the Chinese were different.

In spite of all the controversy they created, the Chinese of California's mining camps kept on with their business of making



money. By the end of the sixties they formed the largest, single national group of miners.<sup>22</sup> As these Asians went about their mining, many Americans observed them as oddities and also as objects of interest. Buck considered them good traders. He had a Chinese clerk who spoke good English and was very industrious. The Chinese were also first rate cooks, he said.<sup>23</sup>

The situation of the Orientals in Buck's Weaverville in 1854 was typical of their interests. They congregated in a Chinese section of town that had four stores, four gambling saloons, and a restaurant. There were in all about one thousand Chinese in town even including a "Celestial" baby. They liked chicken and eggs (\$1.25 at their restaurant) and enjoyed gambling to such an extent that they were able to squeeze seventeen tables into one small "den."<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, this weakness for gambling was noted often. Almost all Chinese seemed to participate in the sport. The "Celestials" were inveterate gamblers. They would stake anything they possessed in the dirty, badly lighted rooms they used for "dens."<sup>25</sup> Their game was similar to "Fan Tan" and was usually played behind strong doors with no admittance to whites.<sup>26</sup>

The Chinese had food habits that seemed to astound the white miners. These Asians even had their own merchants who came to the mines to sell them rice and tea. In addition, they ate "green gourds and green pumpkins and green squash."<sup>27</sup> Some shrimp was sent to the mining district (caught, naturally, by Chinese fishermen) but most of it was shipped to China. In return, the California Chinese got a good deal of their food from China; and if the miners were living in large groups, there was a chance that they could eat the traditional fare. There were approximately one hundred and thirty-one items shipped to San Francisco for the "Celestial" tables. Included among these were such strange foods as cuttle fish, dry bean curd, bamboo shoots, ginger, dry duck, salt ginger, kumquat, duck liver, bird's nests, fish fins, shrimp soy, seaweed and dried guts.<sup>28</sup>

To eat their food, the Chinese imported many of their customary utensils. In spite of their different fare, the "Chinese laborers ate better diets than did whites in substantially the same lines of work."<sup>29</sup>

Another custom which miners found strange was the Chinese theater. When the tired prospectors would come to San Francisco seeking entertainment, many attended a performance of a Chinese play. By 1852 the Chinese had established a theater in the city. In that year, the Tong-Hook Tong Company gave 123 perform-

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ances at \$2 to \$6 per person. In 1855 a puppet theater existed in San Francisco and plays were given in Sacramento. The Shanghai Theater came to the Bay City in 1856 and by the next year was strong enough to give fifty plays. During the 1860's, the Chinese Theater was well established and evidently making money. The performances given were usually military affairs with swift, vigorous action or "civil" plays which were somewhat quieter.<sup>30</sup> For example, on a given night a miner in San Francisco might see such a play as "Sam Kwok or The Hundred Years' War," starring Mr. Wong Tong as the female lead.<sup>31</sup> The development of the theater was enjoyed by the Chinese, but the Americans found it disconcerting. Performances went on day and night with juggling and unintelligible short plays.<sup>32</sup>

A few years later, Henryk Sienkiewicz, a well-known Polish traveler, attended the theater which now began at 8:00 P.M. and continued far into the night. It was stuffy and hot in the theater, which may account partially for the fights that often broke out between "hoodlums" and Chinese. The entire play was accompanied by the cracking of beechnuts and the lighting of cheroots on the stage lights. The "actors walked back and forth, conversed with one another, and some even jumped up and down."<sup>33</sup> Two observers in the 60's both agreed that the Chinese music was monotonous<sup>34</sup> and makes a "noise but surely not music."<sup>35</sup> The gongs, sticks, drums, and other traditional Chinese instruments greatly impressed Western observers. No female actresses were allowed on the stage — a strange custom for such a supposedly "immoral" race.

While the Chinese theater was giving their military plays, the Chinese miners were often acting in their own military engagements. Nothing seemed to intrigue the Americans more than these "Chinese Wars." There were two conflicts of importance in the early days, one at Weaverville in Trinity County in 1854 and the second in '56 at Chinese Camp in Tuolumne County.

In Weaverville, two factions, the Hong Kongs and the Cantons had been having trouble. Finally, a leader of the Canton clan was killed, which caused a date to be set for open conflict. The Chinese immediately set out to procure the necessary weapons. All the blacksmiths in the County were utilized in order to produce sufficient armament of long pikes, three prong spears, long swords, short swords, and shields. The rival clans drilled in the streets of Weaverville and succeeded in generating a good deal of interest among the white population. When the day of the battle arrived, a large crowd gathered to watch the conflict. Sheriff William Lowe



had tried to stop the proceedings but had failed. As the two forces approached the battlefield at Ten Cent Gulch, the Hong Kong Company was dressed in red, with red cloth around their heads. They carried white banners. The Cantons shouldered red and black flags and had sheet-iron hats carefully fitted on their heads.

Instead of immediately commencing the fight, the Chinese hurled insults at each other for a good part of the day. This, naturally, upset the Americans who had come to see a war. About 3:00 P.M. the spectators began to drive the two groups together, effectively cutting off part of the Hong Kong force. With this, the Cantons, amid a sounding of gongs, charged into the rival clan. A general melee resulted during which a drunken Swede<sup>36</sup> began firing into the Chinese. Another white man immediately shot him, and the war soon came to an end. The Cantons won a complete triumph, the final score being eight Hong Kongs and two Cantons dead. The victorious clan immediately returned to town and held a celebration.<sup>37</sup> Thus ended the serio-comic Weaverville War. The Chinese had exhibited "coolness and courage" while the Americans were a bit ashamed of their role.

The war at Chinese Camp in '56 was basically the same, only this time the Yun Wo and Sam Yap were the organizations involved. During the battle, fifty Chinese were arrested but soon liberated. It was estimated that the companies spent \$60,000 in preparations.<sup>38</sup> A few years later, however, these relatively harmless engagements were superseded by the Tong warfare with its hatchetmen and their bloody battles.<sup>39</sup>

The religion of the Chinese contributed to the stereotype of strangeness that the miners were developing towards the Asians. Buddhism seemed to be the predominant religion. With the joss houses scattered throughout the mining towns, many Americans came in contact with the idols and incense of Buddha for the first time. When burying their dead, the Chinese would provide the necessary articles for the deceased's entry into the spirit world, while passing out wine, brandy, and cigars to the mourners. In addition, they would scatter spiritual papers over the grave.<sup>40</sup> The burial was usually temporary, as the Chinese often opened the grave several years later and shipped the bones to their native land.<sup>41</sup> Although they had religious reasons for doing this, the process was immediately offered by anti-Chinese elements in the American population as evidence of inability to assimilate.

Many men criticized China's religion but few tried to convert the "Celestials" to Christianity. The Reverend William Speer of San Francisco was an outstanding exception, while the Reverend

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William Taylor told of an incident in 1855 at the Twelve Mile Bar when a Chinese listened to his sermon with great attention and even took notes.<sup>42</sup>

The white miners, besides observing the Orientals' institutions, naturally examined the Chinese themselves, and in their diaries and reminiscences there emerges a picture of the Chinese race that is both favorable and unfavorable. The "pigtailed" miners were, at first, regarded as curiosities. But the number of Chinese grew so rapidly that curiosity turned quickly to discrimination and harassment. They were observed to be highly intelligent, inventive, patient and avaricious.<sup>43</sup> Frank Marryat, a Forty-Niner, regarded the Chinese as cheats and "did not believe in them."<sup>44</sup> The grave "Celestials" lived cheaply and knew the value of the dollar extremely well.

The traditional queue was worn in the mines except for those few Chinese who let their hair grow in its natural manner. Although they appeared "villanous" with their Western hair cut, this was often compensated by the adoption of various modes of European dress including boots and gold watch-chains.<sup>45</sup> The Chinese did buy American boots. In fact, this often was the only item of American clothing that they purchased. The rest of their outfit was supplied to them from China. Yet, in the 1860's, an Eastern commentator saw the Chinese in the country frequently dressing like Americans and even occasionally eating beef.<sup>46</sup> The "heathens" quickly learned the Californian's profanity, one of the first American ideas to receive recognition by the Chinese.<sup>47</sup>

The "Celestials" in the mines made good workers. They were industrious and, although at first they "handled their tools like so many women . . ." they soon were able to make a once-worked claim pay off. These Asians seemed well satisfied to work the marginal claims for the reward of a few dollars a day.<sup>48</sup> By the year 1863, the Chinese had come into the possession of most of the river claims in the area of the original gold strike. If the Chinese miner worked for wages, he received, in the early days, about \$1.00 to \$1.25 per day, and by 1870 he got from \$1.75 to \$2.00.<sup>49</sup> One employer, who hired Chinese in 1855 at the high rate of \$2.50 per day, had to fire two of them for laziness.<sup>50</sup> Lack of willingness to work was an exception with the Chinese, however, as they often labored long hours in their search for gold.

Their camps were usually clean and this was in contrast with their Chinatowns.<sup>51</sup> They ate with chopsticks and seemed willing to invite the white man to dinner. The invitation occasionally was refused because of the "dubious appearance" of the repast.<sup>62</sup>



The miners enjoyed having a drink with the Chinese, though. Borthwick noted that "the Chinese invariably treated in the same hospitable manner anyone who visited their camps and seemed rather pleased than otherwise at the interest and curiosity excited by their domestic arrangements."<sup>53</sup>

When the "Celestials" set up houses, they were usually miserable little shanties<sup>54</sup> congregated in one section of the mining town. These shacks were often filthy, (by white standards) as were the men who lived in them. Chinese Camp had a large "Celestial" population, and, as the name would suggest, was founded by the Orientals in 1849.<sup>55</sup> Another town, Columbia, "the gem of the Southern mines," had not only a Chinatown but a truly cosmopolitan population during the '50's. Mokelumne Hill, with its 1,000 Chinese residents, was able, during its heyday, to support three joss houses and a female slave market.<sup>56</sup> The first court house of Double Springs, the county seat of Calaveras County, actually came from China. It was a wooden structure, 72 feet by 12 feet, composed of three separate Chinese houses.<sup>57</sup>

Wherever they lived, the Chinese appeared strange to the whites. All night they "chattered" their "horrid jargon,"<sup>58</sup> and during the day, they always tended to work in groups. Even their haircuts provided amusement to the Caucasian observer. Sienkiewicz watched five or six Chinese "kneeling in front of the barbers with their heads resting in the barbers' laps." The barber lifted "the pigtail of his patient with one hand, while with the other he guide[d] a razor carefully over the curve of the skull."<sup>59</sup>

In a more serious vein, the Chinese were often accused of robbing the sluice boxes of the other miners.<sup>60</sup> Six "Celestials" were caught at French Hill, two of whom were given fifty lashes each and had their queues cut off. Robbery of sluices was a common practice not limited to the Chinese and, in general, most of the Orientals in the mines established themselves as law abiding citizens.<sup>61</sup>

Other miners saw only the filth, squalor, and odor of the Chinese.<sup>62</sup> In 1862 it was noted that the "Celestials" in the mines had all the vices and faults of a heathen people, and that their women were "'frail,' very frail" and "industrious in their calling."<sup>63</sup>

It was, of course, the morals of the Chinese that were most frequently assailed. The Chinese were regarded as heathens, and their moral standards were thought to be practically non-existent. Like the whites, the "Celestials" did have vices, but, unfortunately, they were not the traditional American faults. Although they did

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not drink alcohol to any great extent, the Chinese enjoyed smoking opium. This is a despicable habit, but the Chinese were able to exercise control over it to a certain extent. Their opium houses were frequently dirty and overcrowded. The whites were horrified by all this, but the Chinese seemed no better or worse for indulging in the habit.

The greatest percentage of the charges of low moral standards were directed at the Chinese woman. Said William Heath Davis:

Their immortality is of the most iniquitous character. They are regardless of female virtue, and take especial delight in inducing young girls into their premises for the most flagrant purposes. Their brothels are boldly open upon some streets, where boys are ruined for life by visiting those abominable haunts.<sup>64</sup>

On the face of it, the many charges were well founded, for most of the Chinese females in California were prostitutes.<sup>65</sup> But harlots of every nationality existed in California at this time, and the poor Chinese seemed to range at the bottom of the social scale even in this profession.<sup>66</sup> What really shocked the Americans was that these "frail" ladies usually did not come to California of their own accord. In the early days, rival parties went to the steamers and seized female passengers.<sup>67</sup> The first importation of 600 girls occurred in 1854.<sup>68</sup> A few years later a slave market was established in San Francisco and women were sold, like lower animals, as concubines, wives and prostitutes. They were actually bound by a Chinese contract that stipulated that, in return for their steamer fare, they must work as a prostitute for four or five years.<sup>69</sup> Those girls who were older or not quite so pretty often ended up in a dirty street bagnio, a cage-like affair behind which the girl could be viewed by prospective customers. This part of Chinese life was indeed grotesque, yet a certain percentage of the prostitutes were always maintained for white patronage.<sup>70</sup>

Quite a number of these girls were sent into the interior of the state to "take care" of "Chinese miners who could afford it."<sup>71</sup> This was natural, as the Chinese had not brought their wives and did not contemplate staying in California. In some cases the miners took such women as wives, or concubines, and by 1870 there were many instances of Chinese couples living together as a family.<sup>72</sup>

Most of the "Celestial" women remained nameless, but a few have retained their identity. Ah Toy, the "beautiful, tall, well-built woman" who, in 1854, charged admission to miners wishing to look at her and who later set up houses of pleasure in the mining camps, was one of these.<sup>73</sup> In Sonora, an Oriental restaurant



featured a Chinese woman dressed in European style as bar hostess.<sup>74</sup> This Chinese restaurateur knew how to stimulate business.

In spite of the great furor centering around these Oriental women, by 1870 only 7.1% of the total Chinese population in California were females.<sup>75</sup> In the United States as a whole, in 1860, there were 1,748 Chinese women, while by 1870 the figure had increased to 4,566. The number of males to 100 females was 1,284.1.<sup>76</sup>

It was not only the Chinese woman who was under a form of obligation to a company or individual, but every Chinese in California. Each man belonged to one of the famous Six Companies. These companies were organized around geographical divisions existing in the province of Kwangtung and carried out the traditional proclivity of the Chinese toward some form of clan structure. The Companies, organized to protect the general welfare of the Chinese entering San Francisco, would support the immigrant until he left for the mines or found a job. For this assistance the individual became a member, paid dues, and owed allegiance to the company of his district.<sup>77</sup> From the Companies' headquarters, the "Meeting of the Middle Kingdom," in San Francisco, the elders directed the numerous court battles and the various affairs of the Chinese.<sup>78</sup>

By 1868 the Companies claimed a total membership of 58,300.<sup>79</sup> All this organizational activity deeply affected the whites. The Chinese seemed to disregard the laws and ordinances of the state and cities of California. They looked toward the Company for guidance as to whether they should obey the many laws passed to regulate Chinese activity. Wild charges were made that Oriental lords held the workers as serfs, but this does not seem to be true. In fact, viewing Chinese history and the treatment they received in California, it is only natural that the "Celestials" should present a collective front to the Americans. Yet, it was just another characteristic that set the Chinese aside as special and different.

The last major objection to the Chinese in the mining camps seemed to be that of occupation. The Chinese were taking jobs away from Americans and particularly Irish-Americans. The economic issue started the anti-Chinese agitation, and during the 70's it was popularized by organized labor and used in an attempt to gain political power.

But there was no real basis for this fear, at least in the mining camps. The Chinese were very quickly relegated to the inferior claims and worked-over diggings. When the whites finished with an area, the Chinese would move in.<sup>80</sup> By 1855, writes Rodman W.

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Paul in his *California Gold*, it was estimated that there were 120,000 miners in California, 20,000 of whom were Chinese.<sup>81</sup> In 1873, John S. Hittel thought there were less than 30,000 miners, three-fifths of whom were Chinese.<sup>82</sup> In other words, the number of Chinese miners also decreased although not to such a dramatic extent.

As mining became less rewarding, both Caucasians and Chinese began to diversify their occupational background. The list of jobs the "Celestials" held in the 1860's is very large and well known. In the United States, in 1870, the Chinese engaged in 138 different occupations. The percentage of Chinese following these occupations can be broken down in the following manner:

Agriculture .....	6.2%
Professional and Personal Services .....	42.1%
Trade and Transportation .....	4.9%
Manufacturers and Mechanical and Mining Industries (out of the total of 21,692 Chinese coming under this category, 17,069 were miners). <sup>83</sup> .....	46.8%

It is immediately evident that the main grouping of Chinese labor was in the personal services and mining professions, occupations that the whites of California did not want to follow or that were no longer very profitable. These figures, of course, are for the United States, but in 1870, 83.6% of the Chinese in this country resided in the Pacific area and out of that figure 98.8% lived in California.<sup>84</sup> Thus it does not really seem that in economics, the whites had a truly valid argument for anti-Chinese agitation.

But in the mining camps themselves, what jobs did the Chinese have? Were they all miners, or had the occupational base broadened out here as it had on the coast? An examination of six mining counties: Calaveras, Nevada, Maricopa, Sierra, Trinity and Tuolumne in 1870 revealed that the greatest number of Chinese were still attempting to make a living searching for gold.<sup>85</sup>

Table I illustrates the population trend in the mining counties from 1860-1870:

**Table I<sup>86</sup>**

Population	Year 1860	Year 1870
Total population of six counties studied .....	71,729	49,583
Total whites .....	57,574	40,391
Total Chinese .....	13,455	8,585
Total population of 15 mining counties .....	154,257	115,107 (14 counties)
Total whites .....	124,322	92,848
Total Chinese .....	28,049	20,962

There was quite a drop in population from 1860 to 1870. This, undoubtedly, reflected the failure of the mines to produce at high levels. So by 1870, there were only 8,585 Chinese in the six counties under study (17% of the entire population). Of this total,



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representing 41% of the Chinese in the six mining counties, 8,141 were males and 444 were females. The Chinese women, then, represented only 5% of the Chinese population and under 1% of the total population.

The average age of the women was 27.6 years, and, of the 444 total, 232 were listed as prostitutes, 169 as keeping house and the rest in various other occupations.<sup>87</sup> By observing their living conditions, it is obvious that nearly all of these women were prostitutes, (e.g., there were often three or four Chinese women staying together whose occupations were given as keeping house). In all, a little under 5% of the total Chinese population were prostitutes.

The men, whose average age was 34 years, engaged in approximately 50 different types of occupations. However, 71% (6,080) of the Chinese were miners. This represented 12% of the total population. Another 13½% of the Chinese males were divided among four types of jobs, as follows:

Occupation	Percentage of Chinese Population
Laborers .....	7 %
Cooks .....	4½%
Gardeners .....	1 %+
Gamblers .....	1 %+

The remaining 15½% were divided between 45 other occupations, the largest of which was the woodchopping business with 98 workers. Herein lies a significant fact — 84% of the males were in only five different occupations including four in which the whites showed little interest.

These very figures also point up another interesting situation. Of the total Chinese population of 8,585, approximately 530 or 6%-plus were prostitutes, gamblers, saloon keepers or connected with the opium trade. When these figures are broken down, however, only 1% were listed as gamblers and only 12 persons were in the opium business.

Some of the other occupations included:

Physician .....	18	Launderer .....	74
Merchant .....	56	Domestic .....	37
Restaurateur .....	13	Scavenger .....	1
Huckster .....	22	Druggist .....	1
Priest .....	22	Grocer .....	56
Opium House Operator .....	11	Soap Root Digger .....	67
Jeweler .....	1		

In addition, there were 51 children, most of whom had been born in California.

Financially, the Chinese claimed a total wealth of \$260,150 which was divided among 344 men (or about \$757 a piece). Real estate accounted for \$75,450 (137 men) and personal property for

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\$184,657 (207 men). The most profitable occupation seemed to be that of grocer. The 56 grocers were worth \$73,400. The miners (6,080) had only \$79,125 or \$13 per capita. Also, among the better money-makers, were the hucksters (17,450), the inn keepers (\$18,-200) and the merchants (\$38,400). These figures are subject to error of course, and they do not measure wages, but it is significant to note that the men who made money were in the occupations serving the Chinese population.

The survey of 40% of the Chinese inhabitants in the mines leads to a few self-evident conclusions.

First, the Chinese tended to group together in sections of town, although there was one case of a Chinese and an Irishman living together.

Second, since 84% of the males engaged in five occupations, four of which were not popular with the whites, they could not have come into too much economic competition.

Again, while there were very few women, a high percentage of them worked as prostitutes. This illustrates three things:

- A. The Chinese social structure, which tended to allow only the lower classes of women to emigrate.
- B. The desire of the Chinese to return eventually to China.
- C. The natural product of any predominantly male society.

Fourth, the Chinese dealt with their own merchants and grocers when buying food and supplies, and they invested two-thirds of their savings in personal property.

Fifth, these Orientals obviously loved to gamble, and lastly, the Chinese formed a large minority group in the population.

The Chinese, in a sense, then, did represent a nationality who refused to participate in the "melting pot" of American society. They transported their own food, clothing, women, customs, and beliefs to California. These Asians could not speak English, and many gave no indication of learning to do so. The "Celestials" sent some of their money home while continuing to live in intolerable conditions (to the whites) and to work for extremely low wages. In essence, they were completely different from groups previously encountered by the native Americans.

However, the Chinese really never had an opportunity to adopt America. At first, they were well received, but when the "Celestials" reached the mines in any number, they became the victims of many flagrant types of discrimination. They were run off the good claims and forced to make their living in the worked-over diggings.

Unfortunately, for the Chinese, they became tangled in the



white man's mind with the issues of the Civil War, nativism, and a rising labor movement in an unstable economy.

By 1870, however, the Civil War was over, the Pacific Railroad had been built, and the workers of California were organizing. The Chinese would soon be caught in a struggle between worker and capital. Given a decent chance, the Chinese might have been able to accept American ways more fully. They had many friends in the mines and in the cities during the early years who thought that their treatment was so terrible that it should "make every American blush . . ." <sup>88</sup> These voices were lost, however, in the sand lots and orations of Denis Kearney and his Workingmen's Party. The first anti-Chinese parade was held in 1870, and California was on the way to exclusion.

#### NOTES

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79. Sandmeyer, *loc. cit.*
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84. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 63.
85. MS., 9th Census, *loc. cit.*
86. Taken from Walker, *Compendium of Ninth Census*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29, 551.
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# Book Reviews

FIFTEEN DECISIVE EVENTS OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY, by Rockwell D. Hunt. (*The Historical Society of Southern California*, Los Angeles, 1959.) Introduction by Gustave O. Arlt; indexed; bibliography; illustrated. Pp. xxii, 91; cloth; two-color pictorial jacket. \$5.00 (discounted to Society members and Society BOOK CLUB members).

Fifty years ago the *Historical Society of Southern California* ANNUAL (of 1909-10) published Rockwell D. Hunt's article, "Significant Events in California History." Since Dr. Hunt was, and is, a historian in the true meaning of the term, and not a prophet, he could not then have included at least four of the events he now has chosen for his latest work, *Fifteen Decisive Events of California History*. Thus the course of our State history, and the unfolding of the life and times of this grand old man of California letters! No living writer of the history of the Golden State is better grounded than he to evaluate the crucial events in its history, for a few of this or any other generation have studied this history longer or actually witnessed a greater span of it.

The reader of this review should not allow it to be a substitute for the study of the book. Let the reader have the pleasure of discovering from the volume itself what Dr. Hunt's fifteen selections are. Yet let him understand here, as the author says in the *Preface*, that the number selected is not intended as either a magical or a final sum total of pivotal events, but as simply a selection large enough for variety's sake and small enough "to avoid the pitfalls of particularism." Suffice to reveal here that the time period covered extends from Discovery in 1542 to the United Nations meeting in San Francisco in 1945; that eight of the events chosen fall in the drama-packed 19th Century; and that four fall in the present century but do not include such occurrences as the development of the citrus, motion picture or airframe industries, the population explosion at mid-century, or the struggle for water in Southern California. Three of the fifteen events did not even occur *in* California. Nor is there a military battle among them, although two have military connection and others are predominately political, religious, social or economic. Finally, for his fifteenth selection, Dr. Hunt ventures boldly into the difficult area of contemporary history and, out of the experience and wisdom of his ninety-two years, writes a heartwarming essay of faith and hope. In this he bends — some would say



breaks — the rules of history writing; who in his field has a better right?

In further analysis of Dr. Hunt's selections one may say that they are not necessarily the most interesting or most surprising or most controversial events, although such qualities abound. Rather, they are as announced in the book title: decisive. One need not expect, therefore, any discoveries based on new research. What one can expect is interpretation, boiled and simmered and finally distilled into the essence of the veteran author's evaluation of the story and the destiny of his beloved California.

Readers of the *QUARTERLY* have had the opportunity of reading these chapters as they appeared serially, but every student of the State history will want to have the collection in one attractive volume. Brought together thus, the essays arch over the full expanse of California's story in a surprisingly satisfactory manner. For the young student they serve as a good introduction, whetting his appetite for broader searching. For the more experienced reader they provide a good refresher course, and possibly a new point of view. For both categories of students the carefully done, chapter-by-chapter bibliography is a valuable addition. Dr. Gustave O. Arlt's thoughtful *Introduction* and the fifteen plates contribute to the pleasure and utility of the volume.

This is Volume 4 in the *Society's Special Book Publications* Series. Again Lorrin L. Morrison has designed and produced a book to satisfy those who are proud to own worthwhile literary works in enduring editions finely crafted.—*Robert W. King.*

DESERT VOICES, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, by E. I. Edwards. (The Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1958) Pp. xxviii, 215. \$12.50

E. I. Edwards, writer, book collector, business consultant, does not belong to that band of timid bibliographers who describe their compilations as being "selective" — a word that serves as a shield against the shafts of critics who find favorite books missing.

Instead, out of his twenty years of following desert lore and literature, he boldly states that his purpose in *Desert Voices* is to present "all the known books on our California deserts with sufficient comment on each to stimulate the urge for exploratory reading."

While no one man could quite achieve that aim, the book Edwards has produced is a magnificent achievement.

*Desert Voices* is no mere listing of books. It is an assemblage in one fat, happy, and handsome volume of one man's reactions to

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the vast material written about the areas described as the Mojave (including Death Valley), the Colorado (including Borrego, Imperial, and Coachella Valleys) and the High Desert country (embracing Morongo and Yucca Valleys, the Joshua Tree regions and Twentynine Palms.) Occasionally Edwards is content with a spare listing — title, author, date of publication, publisher, number of pages, and a thumbnail account of the contents — when he feels that is all the item requires or deserves. Frequently, in his enthusiasm, he writes a review, somewhat lengthy, commenting in detail, expressing authoritative and candid approval or disapproval, and noting the format. This makes the book uneven but adds to the pleasure of the reader. Edwards' appraisals are apt to be on the favorable side, for the whole subject matter of the desert fills him with relish and each book adds something to the rich fare.

*Desert Voices*, with its huge coverage and its personal treatment, is entertaining and immensely useful. Read it carefully if you want, thumb it through with casual pauses, or save it for reference — however it is used, *Desert Voices* is an invaluable addition to anyone's library of Western Americana.

While excluding newspaper items and most magazine articles — though four pages are devoted to Philip Johnston's contributions to *Touring Topics* and *Westways* — this bibliography has an important and extended appendix. Here Edwards offers a checklist of books containing only casual reference to California deserts; enumerates diaries and journals of pioneer desert crossings; and itemizes a grouping of scientific and technical books and publications.

There is an understanding *Foreword* by Harold O. Weight, desert authority and writer, who also contributes photographic illustrations.

No small part of the attractiveness of the volume is due to Paul Bailey's effective design.—*W. W. Robinson.*

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE WEST, by Oscar Lewis (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1958.) 306 pp. \$5.00

Oscar Lewis is one of those facile writers who have become purveyors of "western history" to the masses. Their writing seldom lacks excitement, color, or romance. They possess the basic skills of the best professional writers. They often stress the heroic, the exotic, and the bizarre and their works occasionally reach real dramatic intensity. Only rarely, however, do they focus the reader's attention upon those wearing and routine processes of daily life that



made the West tedious and enervating to the pioneers who actually peopled it.

As Lucius Beebe put it in a recent review, "the Old West has become big business . . ." The professional writer has been shrewd enough to capitalize upon the fact that each year thousands of new western fans come of age. For these readers he parades all the time-worn symbols of his craft: the gunslingers, the varmints, the villains, the noble Indians, the brave trappers, the gallant cowboys, the dashing cavalymen, the red-shirted miners. In a sense, such writers have done the course of history considerable service by providing delectating accounts of the past. The juicy tidbits with which their books are freighted have sometimes made history "come alive" for large reading audiences. This, incidentally, is an achievement that few historians have matched. But to equate such writing with critical historical craftsmanship is basically wrong.

Like Trevelyan, one's interest in such history "collapses like a pricked balloon" whenever he detects uncritical acceptance of legend or the sacrificing of interpretation for the sake of narrative story. It seems to me that we have had enough intellectually-thin books designed primarily to sell rather than to create basic understanding of a West that is not merely symbol, myth, and cliché.

In fairness to Mr. Lewis, it should be stated that in the past he has made conscientious contributions to the history of the West. His *Bonanza Inn* and *The Big Four* are praiseworthy books. With Robert Glass Cleland he edited a series of Gold Rush volumes for Alfred Knopf that were first-rate.

*The Autobiography of the West*, however, is something less than that. What Lewis has done is to piece together a series of chopped-up "personal narratives" by such persons as Pedro de Castaneda (who was on the Coronado Expedition), Cabeza de Vaca, Jedediah Smith, John C. Frémont, William T. Sherman, Hubert Howe Bancroft, and J. Ross Browne. Essentially the book represents the mining of several dozen disparate diaries, memoirs, articles, and letters, interlarded with a sprightly commentary designed to place them in historical perspective. There is not a footnote in the book nor is there a bibliography of sources. About this effort the publisher states:

This is the stirring saga of the American West told in the words of those intrepid spirits — some famous, some totally obscure — who discovered, explored, and developed it . . . *The Autobiography of the West* is a delightful and rewarding tale of history, of fabulous adventure, comedy, and tragedy . . . This is the romance of our nation — the exciting personal narratives of women captured by Indians, of children isolated in mountain cabins for months at a

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time, of face-to-face encounters with wild animals. Here are the experiences of a pony-express rider, a pioneer cowhand, and a hundred other autobiographical accounts of the adventures and dangers our forefathers met.

Yes, all the symbols and cliches are in this book. But if this fragmented and stylized potpourri is indeed "history," it is the kind that finds its origin in the works of other men. In the original sources will be found, uncut and unmaimed, the complete narratives out of which this book has been fabricated.—*Andrew F. Rolle.*

THE HISTORY OF MISSION SAN JOSE CALIFORNIA, 1797-1835, by the Rev. Francis Florence McCarthy, *illustrated*, (Academy Library Guild, Fresno, 1958, Pp. 285, Cloth Binding, \$5.95).

Books on the Missions of California are either very good or extremely terrible; there is seemingly, no middle ground. In the case of Father McCarthy's volume on San Jose, it is definitely in the former group — that of the "very good." Although books dealing with the missions fill shelves in most California libraries, this is the first separate volume to appear on that northerly mission of San Jose. Published posthumously, its author brought the experiences of a life-time as a priest to bear on the historical data anent the mission — a union which not only produced an historical volume, but one of great beauty as well.

In this history, Father McCarthy opens with the Costanoan Indians themselves, moves into the founding of the mission in 1797 on their domain, tells of its active years and closes his narrative with the coming of secularization. Writing at times with a light sense of humor, at other times with profoundness, his chronical of the mission glows with the touch of a man who loved his work. With such chapter headings as "Economy of Mission San José," "A Day with Fathers Barcenilla and Merino," or "Kit Carson at Mission San José, 1830," he unfolds the many and diverse sides of a mission's history. A history peopled with amazingly real persons who emerge from his pages with clarity and a sense of purpose.

Perhaps the highlight of the writing is his telling of the dedication of the mission's church. Using large quotations from existing records, and filling in with his own experience, we follow the building to completion, through the ceremonies of the Blessing, the Vigil, and then the Dedication itself. Father McCarthy describes in detail the vestments of the officiating fathers, the general appearance of the new church on its festive day of dedication, the processional, the music.

Unlike so many volumes which deal with mission history, this



is one which is free from such as "romantic ruins" — San José has none; instead today it has a prim little Victorian Church, who's charming face is the *frontispiece* of the book. The writing deals with many yesterdays at the mission which have been lifted out of the dusty tomes to delight the historian. They are presented with a freshness which would deny that the original ink on these recordings dried more than a century ago.—*J. Thomas Owen.*

LONG JOHN DUNN OF TAOS, by Max Evans. A true life story of a famous character of Taos, New Mexico. (Vol. XV in the Westernlore Press *Great West and Indian Series*, Los Angeles, 1959.) Pp. 174; 5½" x 8"; cloth; 2-color illustrated jacket. \$5.75.

If the reader has ever had any curiosity about the life and habits of an early western professional gambler, card sharp, and escaped convict on the run, Long John Dunn's personal narrative to Max Evans will be quite enlightening. To add to the authenticity of the narrative, Author Evans received an affidavit from Long John, swearing to the truth of the whole story.

The narrative takes the reader along with Dunn from the time of his birth in Texas in 1857 until his death in New Mexico on May 22, 1953. Evans tells of two murders that his hero committed; he tells of his escape from the law and his incidental horse stealing escapades; he delves into experiences gained on cattle-drives from Texas to Kansas, Colorado, and Montana; and his experiences in Mexico, New Mexico, and nearly all the Western States when he was constantly on run from the law.

Dunn, who was "long" in every physical respect, was short-sighted only in his desire to settle down in Taos, buy a toll bridge and run a stage line. The capital needed for these ventures was considerable and he became a professional gambler and card-sharp to attain the required capital. The tools of his trade were nimble fingers, marked cards, sharp eyes, and a sawed-off, double-barrel shotgun which he wielded with as much dexterity as if it were a pistol.

How this man, with his early criminal record, escaped the law in the form of the Texas Rangers, and how he continued to live through his days as a shady professional gambler, makes this an unusual book. But more intriguing than his escapades outside the law is the manner in which he finally set himself up in business in Taos, operated the toll bridge, hotels, and engaged in mining ventures. He went broke at eighty, due to a long and protracted illness

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of his son. And he made a fast recovery by dealing Monte, his old standby gambling game, so that just before his death at past 94, he was able to have a friend dig into his cellar floor and recover \$7,500.00 which he had buried for an emergency.

If you want the story of one of the West's shady characters, this book should give it to you.—*Lorrin L. Morrison.*

COUNTRY OF THE SUN, by Scott O'Dell. (The Cornwall Press, Inc., Cornwall, N.Y. — 1957) 310 pp.

Listed as "Southern California — An informal history and guide," Mr. O'Dell says it is "informal in the sense that things left out had been left out on purpose." The style in which the author writes is a combination of novelist, humorist, newspaper columnist and historian which, all in all, makes for enjoyable and informative reading.

"Country of the Sun" describes the origin and development of the nine Southern California counties: San Diego, Imperial, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside, Ventura, Santa Barbara, Inyo, and Los Angeles. Not only does it contain a comprehensive history of each county but also gives interesting and often overlooked side-lights and legends. San Diego is covered from the beginning through the "Juan Jose" Warner episodes, and Horton and Kate Sessions periods. The Imperial County chapter includes the Patties, the Yuma Crossing difficulties and the fate of the "Topolobampo" in 1922. Orange County reiterates portions of the story of Richard Henry Dana. Scott O'Dell tells of how Joaquin Murietta came to the California gold fields where he was beaten, and Carmen, his pretty young wife, was murdered—thus he turned avenger. San Bernardino brings in the "Jed" Smith story, the Lugos, Wilsons, and the Mormon settlement. The chapter on Riverside tells the legends of the lost Spanish galleon and the White Camel — a descendant of one of Beale's animals. Ventura is about the Chumashans or the people of the red canoes and the lost woman of the San Nicholas Island. Santa Barbara chapter again quotes from Dana, tells of José Lobero and Milo Potter. Inyo County contains Death Valley, called "Tomesha" (Ground Afire) by the Indians, and so tells of the Jayhawkers and the mines, including the legendary Lost Gunsight. Of course, there was the borax twenty mule teams and Death Valley Scotty. The Los Angeles County chapter, last but by far not the least, tells of how Los Angeles is pronounced many ways but usually is referred to as just "L.A.": the Indian




name for this area was "Yang-na." O'Dell says that strangely enough there is not even a street named after Felipe de Neve, founder of the City, or Father Serra. Incidents are given of the lawless fifties and sixties and the troubles the sheriffs had in their attempts to keep law and order. This chapter includes the Cerro Gordo, the P. Banning and Collis P. Huntington railroads with the literal fight for water with Owens Valley.

At the end of the chapter on the various counties are inspiring lists of "Places to Go" with brief descriptions. There is also a list of "Fiestas, Festivals, and Events" enumerated according to the month. Any attempt to see these scenic and historical spots or to attend even a portion of the events would make anyone's calendar very full. To make the book even more complete, there are suggested books for supplementary reading.—*Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop.*

# Las Familias de California

## (*The Families of California*)

### INTRODUCTION

ITH THIS ISSUE, the QUARTERLY inaugurates a new feature, a genealogical section, for which there seems to be some demand. There has always been a good deal of interest among Californians in their ancestry, and many of the descendants of the old families have carefully traced their pedigrees back as far as possible. Our Historical Society has never made a systematic effort to assist its members and others to make genealogical studies as, for example, the *Sons of the Revolution* and other organizations do, in which eligibility for membership is based on the applicant's family tree. Our only requirement for membership is a genuine interest in the history of our state and our region and a desire to be a Californian. We have always subscribed to the definition of a Californian which that grand old lady of California literature Ella Sterling Mighels once gave: "A Californian is one who was either born in California or reborn here."

We are now about to embark upon this venture in order to give our members a little more genealogical help if they want it. This section will consist of four pages in each issue and it will be conducted somewhat like that famous old periodical called *Notes and Queries*. That is, any reader who has an interesting genealogical fact to communicate may send it in and it will be published. Likewise, any reader who wishes to send in a question about genealogy may do so and it will be published. Then we will hope that in the next issue someone will answer it. In this way we may develop a very lively and interesting section.

Your Editor has asked our fellow-member, Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop, to take charge of this section and she has graciously consented to do so. She has had a good deal of experience in genealogical research and is well qualified to do this work. We will give her a very free hand. In the following paragraphs she has set down the general rules under which the section will be conducted. I hope that our readers will like this new feature and that many of them will avail themselves of the potentialities.—*The Editor*.



## Genealogical Queries

Here and there, persons can be found who are interested in California families. Therefore, this genealogical section of the *QUARTERLY* has been formed. It is the desire of this department to be of service to the members of the *Historical Society of Southern California* who might have reason to seek aid through this medium of exchange of information. Your written queries and answers are welcomed. Due to conditions of time and printing space, certain regulations are obviously necessary. It will be appreciated if the following suggestions are observed:

(1) Confine information to ancestors who arrived in California prior to November 1, 1883 (founding date of the *Historical Society of Southern California*).

(2) Provide as nearly as possible the following information regarding each individual:

- (a) Full name,
- (b) Date (or approximate date) of birth, marriage, and death,
- (c) Places of each event,
- (d) Names of children (if any) and
- (e) List sources of information.

(3) Limit your query or answer to seventy-five words or less.

The right to edit is reserved. Your query will be given a number and publication will be in chronological order. Your name and address will be published with your query to promote direct correspondence. Detailed answers will be forwarded only with the enclosure of a stamped self-addressed envelope.

The Society will be happy to accept any genealogical material, photographs, or family histories. All letters pertaining to this department should be addressed to:

*Las Familias de California*  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
1909 South Western Avenue  
Los Angeles 18, California

As a start to this newly formed section of the *QUARTERLY*, the following queries are submitted:

1. MRS. LESTER W. TRYCE, Rt. 4, Box 443, Bakersfield, Calif.— Seeking further information on Jacinto Lorenzana and his wife, Maria del Carmen Rodriguez, (called Carmen). Carmen was born 28 Sept. 1798, Santa Barbara, California. Where was Jacinto Lorenzana born, when did he arrive in Santa Barbara, and when did these persons die? Carmen's parents were Jose Ygnacio Rodriguez and Juana Paula Parra.

2. MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP, 5007 Range View Ave., Los Angeles 42, Calif. — Am seeking the death date of Maria Manuela Antonia Nieto, b. 4 Aug. 1791, Rancho Santa Gertrudis; md. Guillermo Coto 14 July 1805 at San Gabriel. Manuela Nieto appears in the 1836 Padron of Los Angeles but not in the 1844. An unsigned will is dated Aug. 1837.

## *Las Familias de California*

### **Genealogical Notes**

#### **Padron (Census) of Los Angeles, 1790**

*Copied from the Eldridge Translation in the Bancroft Library and Edited by*  
MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

1. MARIANO DE LA LUZ VERDUGO, laborer, 44, from San Javier, Baja California, married to GREGORIA ESPINOSA, 28, widow: daughter by her first marriage, *Maria Concepcion*, 12: stepchildren: *Jose Zalazar*, 8; *Maria Marta*, 5; *Maria Teodora Zalazar*, 2.

2. MARIA IGNACIA CARILLO, 65, widow from Loreto, Baja California. Her son, *Leonardo Verdugo*, laborer, 29; grandson, *Jose Antonio Gongora*, 12.

3. JOSE SINOVA, 40, blacksmith, from Mexico City; married to MARIA GERTRUDIS BOJORQUEZ, 28; children: *Josefa Dolores*, 12; *Casilda de la Cruz*, 9; *Maria Julia*, 4; *Maria Seferina*, 1.

4. FELIPE SANTIAGO GARCIA, muleteer, 40, from Sinaloa; married to PETRA ALCANTARA DE LUGO, 34; children: *Juan Jose*, 16; *Carlos Maria*, 14; *Jose Julian*, 11; *Felipe Santiago*, 8; *Pascual Antonio*, 2; *Pedro Antonio*, 1; *Maria de Jesus*, 9; *Maria Antonia*, 7.

5. JUAN JOSE LOBO (*Villalobo*), 47, muleteer, from Sinaloa; married to MARIA NICOLASA BELTRAN, 33; children: *Maria Rita*, 14; *Maria Antonia*, 12; *Pedro Jose*, 9; *Timoteo*, 6; *Jose Cecilio*, 4; *Maria Dionicia*, 2; *Jose Marcial*, 2 months.

6. PABLO RODRIGUEZ, laborer, 40, from Real de Santa Rosa; married to MARIA ROSALIA NORIEGA, 33; children: *Maria Antonia*, 10; *Maria de Jesus*, 8; *Maria Patricia*, 5; *Maria Margarita*, 2.

7. JOAQUIN DE ARMENTA, laborer, 55, from Sinaloa; married to MARIA LORETA DE LA VEGA, widow, 40; one stepchild (godchild): *Maria Manuela Lisalde*, 12.

8. EFIGENIO RUIZ, 43, cowboy, from El Fuerte; married to MARIA ROSA LOPEZ, 37; children: *Jose Pedro Ruiz*, 16; *Maria Dolores*, 7; *Maria Sirilda*, 5; *Jose Maria*, 1.

9. MANUEL RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO, 46, weaver, from Puebla; married to MARIA AGREDA LOPEZ DE ARCE; children: *Teodoro*, 7; *Rosalia*, 5; *Martina*, 3; *Rafael*, 7 months.

10. PEDRO JOSE ROMERO, laborer, 32, from Guadalajara; married to MARIA GARCIA, 13.

11. ROQUE DE COTA, laborer, 66, from El Fuerte; married to JUANA MARIA VERDUGO, 47; children: *Guillermo*, 22; *Loreta*, 18; *Maria Ignacia*, 11; *Dolores*, 7.

12. JUAN ALBAREZ, 49, cowboy from the Yaqui District; married to BERNARDA SILBAS, 17; one child from the first marriage; *Gertrudis*, 3, and from the second: *Maria Rufina*, one or two months.

13. MARIA SIMONA RODRIGUEZ, 33, from Real de Loreto,



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

widow; children: *Francisca*, 7; *Jose Antonio*, 3; *Jose Maria Lopez*, 2.

14. MANUEL CAMERO, laborer, 34, from Chametla; married to TOMASA GARCIA, 32.

15. JOSE MORENO, laborer, 34, from Real de Rosario; married to MARIA GUADALUPE PEREZ, 27; children: *Maria Gertrudis*, 7; *Maria Marta*, 5; *Juan*, 3; *Maria Lorenza*, 8.

16. BASILIO ROSAS, mason, 72, from Nobre de Dios; married to MARIA MANUELA, 47; children: *Jose Maximo*, 23, widower; *Antonio Rosalino*, 12; *Jose Marcelino*, 11; *Juan Estevan*, 10; *Diana Maria*, 7; *Gil Antonio*, 4; orphan grandchildren: *Jose Antonio*, 3; *Maria de la Asencion*, 7.

17. JOSE VILLA, laborer, 43, from Pitic; married to MARIA PAULA MARTINEZ, 30; children: *Vicente Ferrer*, 19; *Maria Estefana*, 8; *Maria Antonia*, 6; *Jose Francisco Antonio*, 2.

18. JOSE VENEGAS, 47, shoemaker, from Real de Bolanos; married to MARIA MAXIMA AGUILAR, 28; one child: *Cosme Damien*, 9.

19. JOSE ONTIVEROS, shoemaker, 43, from Real de Rosario; married to ANA MARIA CARRASCO, 36; one child: *Maria Encarnacion*, 7.

20. MARIA IGNACIA ALVARADO, 28, from Loreto, widow; children: *Jose Maria*, 12; *Francisca*, 7; *Juan Maria*, 6; *Juan Nepomuceno*, 3.

21. SANTIAGO DE LA CRUZ PICO, cowboy, 60, from San Javier de Cavasan; married to *Jacinta de la Bastida*, 53; children: *Javier*, 23; *Patricio*, 27.

22. DOMINGO ARUZ, 43, from Gerona, Spain, laborer; married to GERTRUDIS QUINTERO, 26; children from first marriage: *Martin*, 7; *Domingo*, 12.

23. JOSE ANTONIO NAVARRO, 53, tailor, from Real de Rosario, widower; children: *Jose Maria*, 19; *Jose Clemente*, 18; *Maria Mariana*, 11.

24. FELIX ANTONIO VILLAVICENCIO, 50, cowboy, from Chihuahua; married to MARIA DE LOS SANTOS, 37.

25. MANUEL FIGUEROA, cowboy, 40, from Sinaloa; single.

26. JOAQUIN HIGUERA, 35, laborer, from Sinaloa; married to MARIA TERESA COTA, 24; children: *Juan Jose*, 3; *Ignacio*, 2.

27. MARIA PASCULA DE LUGO, 40, widow, from Sinaloa; children: *Gertrudis*, 11; *Teodoro*, 10; *Rafael*, 6.

28. FRANCISCO REYES, laborer, 43, from Zapotlan; married to MARIA DEL CARMEN DOMINGUEZ, 23; children: *Antonio Faustino*, 4; *Juana Inocencia*, 3; *Jose Jacinto*, 2.

29. FAUSTINO JOSE DE LA CRUZ, 18, servant, from San Blas, single.

## *Activities of the Society*

### APRIL MEETING

The Seven hundred fifty-fourth scheduled meeting of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, was held April 14, 1959, at the Los Angeles County Museum.

President Gustave O. Arlt, presiding, greeted members and friends of the Society and introduced the speaker of the evening, Viola Lockhart Warren, associate editor of the *QUARTERLY*. Mrs. Warren, wife of Stafford L. Warren, Dean of the School of Medicine on the Los Angeles Campus of the University of California, is an outstanding authority on the history of the California medical profession.

Her address to the Society, "Medical Quacks and Heroes of Early California," was so well received that many of those who heard her talk requested it be printed in this number of the *QUARTERLY*. See page 101.

The Hostesses Committee, co-chairmanned by Mesdames Edmond F. Ducommun and Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell, served coffee, cookies and cake, products of their own kitchens, to nearly one hundred Society members and friends. Presiding at the urns were: Mrs. Gates Baldwin and Mrs. June Mesmer MacKenzie.

Members and guests who signed the Society Register were:

Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Craib  
Mr. and Mrs. Russell E. Belous  
Dr. and Mrs. Gustave O. Arlt  
Mr. and Mrs. D. D. Woodward  
Mr. and Mrs. Norris Bostwick  
D. N. Chakravarty  
Earle R. Greene  
Mame E. Goodell  
F. J. Palnuares  
Mrs. Frank B. Duncan  
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman  
Mr. and Mrs. K. L. Carver  
J. Thomas Owen  
Mrs. Jean Hall Giles  
Irving Bancroft  
Mrs. E. Jerome Murphy

Frank B. Putnam  
Dr. and Mrs. Elmer R. Pascoe  
Elmer C. Weber  
Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Stanton  
Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun  
Harold Ambrosch  
Mr. and Mrs. G. Volle  
Dr. and Mrs. A. S. Lewerenz  
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop  
Garry Northrop  
Dr. and Mrs. Robert L. Borland  
L. H. O'Loughlin  
George A. Gallagher  
Dudley C. Gordon  
H. A. Putnam

(continued)



## THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mr. and Mrs. Peter B. Kuhl  
Audette Garnier  
Mrs. Thomas E. Workman  
Iris H. Wilson  
Donald C. Cutter  
Manuel P. Servin  
Mr. and Mrs. Jack D. Forbes  
Dr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Perret  
Lorrin L. Morrison  
Joseph H. Jenkins  
Mr. and Mrs. George B. Varnum  
Justin G. Turner  
Ruth I. Mahood

Mrs. Dexter Monroe  
Mrs. Helen Sommerfeld  
Mr. and Mrs. Donald Luch  
L. E. Taylor  
Meta Bull  
J. M. Watkins  
Dr. and Mrs. John Eaton  
W. R. Copp  
Proctor Stafford  
Dora M. Robbins  
Ernest G. McCabe  
Melba Roach  
Peg Cassidy

### MAY MEETING

The seven hundred fifty-fifth scheduled meeting of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, was held May 21, 1959, at the Los Angeles County Museum.

President Gustave O. Arlt, presiding, greeted members and guests of the Society and read the names of new members. Dr. Arlt announced that the evening program would be devoted to colored slides, colored movies, etc.

Miss Ruth I. Mahood, chief curator of history of the Museum, opened the program with her highly entertaining (battery of slide projectors) narration of "The Museum Visitor — Who is He?"

Elmer C. Weber was next with his most unusual 35mm color slides of his trip to Mexico. He avoided showing pictures of the well-known cities, usual tourist attractions, but concentrated on the landscape and rural life of Mexico.

Frank B. Putnam narrated the last portion of the program. He showed the color movies taken by George Krain on our 1958 Pilgrimage entitled "Don Adolfo Revisited; the Last Fiesta of the Last of the Dons," and then the 35 mm slides of the 1958 Pilgrimage sent in by various members of the Society.

President Arlt closed the meeting by reminding the members that the 31st Annual Pilgrimage to Riverside and San Bernardino Counties would take place on June 13, 1959.

The Hostesses Committee, co-chairmanned by Mesdames Edmond F. Ducommun and Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell, with Mrs. George Krain and Mrs. Thomas Workman Temple, II, presiding at the urns, served coffee and refreshments to approximately one hundred ninety-seven Society members and guests. The following members and guests signed the Society Register:

Mr. and Mrs. Everett G. Hager  
Thomas S. McNeill  
Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Ducommun  
George A. V. Dunning  
Vera H. Dunning  
George Krain

Zena Krain  
Mr. and Mrs. James E. Serven  
Mr. and Mrs. John E. Backus  
Mrs. Thelma Crain  
Chester R. Crain

(continued)

## *Activities of the Society*

Mr. and Mrs. G. Volle	C. Marjorie Freeman
Mr. and Mrs. Legory H. O'Loughlin	Eleanor Brockway
Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Perret	Mrs. Edna Eichner
Elmer C. Weber	Mr. and Mrs. Albert Borchard
Frank Rolfe	Mildred Pearce
Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Craib	Mrs. L. Thorn
Mrs. John A. Stransky, Jr.	Mrs. Elaine Speerie
Jane Stransky	Mr. and Mrs. Frank Pachmayr
Mrs. J. O. Edmonds	Proctor Stafford
Clifford C. Colyer	Mrs. Ralph Peplow
Dora M. Robbins	Mrs. Annie Faulkner
Brother Cassian Miller, C.S.C.	Mrs. B. Sabichi Mitchell
Brother Alfred W. Salz, C.S.C.	Mr. and Mrs. Ernest J. Yorba
Brother Charles Escobar, C.S.C.	Stephen Yorba
Martin K. Gordon	Mrs. Evangeline V. de Hiquera
Mr. and Mrs. Donald McLarnan	H. M. Morley
Mrs. Agustin Buyo	J. Thomas Owen
Mrs. Raymond A. Wharfield	Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Colman
Mrs. Harry F. Keeler	Frederick W. Nelson
William Menton	Peter B. Kuhl
Joaquin Hernandez	Elizabeth Kuhl
Mr. and Mrs. George B. Varnum	D. I. Worsfold
Alice Runnings	Eleanor Ormandy
Mrs. Phillippine Runnings	Judith B. Nielsen
Ray Morrison	Robert S. Cowan
Mrs. Esther Morrison	Mrs. Elizabeth J. Curtis
Ilene Beatty McNulty	E. J. Harper
Dr. and Mrs. Donald C. Cutter	Mrs. Katherine B. Harper
Dr. Drew Pallette	Mrs. Cecil Otho Dale
Mrs. Walter K. Towers	Mrs. Ernest V. Neumann
Elizabeth R. Tilton	Mr. and Mrs. Dan Siemens
Neil K. Tilton	Jesse A. Aguirre
W. K. Towers	Isaline M. Yule
Rose Saulque	Mrs. Ruth Staff Halliday
Mrs. George Cruser	Bill Larson
Mrs. Forrest Stanton	Juliet Aresdakesian
Mrs. Gerard Krythe	Mary Graham
Mr. and Mrs. Julio Mendoza	Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Mellen
Mrs. William A. Allen	Joseph C. Harker
Marion C. Sparrow	Rev. Phillip Conneally, S.J.
Iris H. Wilson	Dr. and Mrs. Elmer Pascoe
Lida Houghton Izant	Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Workman
Fred G. Doan	Temple, II
Mr. and Mrs. K. L. Carver	Bennett and Margaret Forsythe
Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Ganahl	Mr. and Mrs. John C. Wolfskill
Mrs. Joseph Brown, Jr.	Mae Darling
Dr. and Mrs. Robert L. Borland	Ruth I. Mahood
Mrs. Gregory Groff	Mr. and Mrs. Russell E. Belous
Alice L. Dennison	Kate Darling Chapin
Marjean Giles	Mr. and Mrs. Ransom Matthews
Mrs. Jean Hall Giles	Larry Northrop
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Chapman	Coby Northrop
Mr. and Mrs. Harold F. Collins	Gary Northrop
Mr. and Mrs. Leo Rosenthal	Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop
Janet F. Brown	Dr. and Mrs. Gustave O. Arlt
David B. Browne	Peg Cassidy
Lulu R. O'Neal	

## THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE — JUNE 13, 1959

Our 31st Annual Pilgrimage to historic places in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties was the largest in the history of the Society. It required six buses to accommodate the 226 who made



reservations. The first group of three buses left the Elks Club parking lot on Carondelet Street shortly after 8:00 a.m. and the last three left at 8:30 a.m.

The first stop was the Boys' Republic in Chino where we were welcomed by J. L. Sullivan, public relations director of Boys' Republic. One of his young men gave a most interesting talk on the background of Boys' Republic.

The second stop was the Yorba adobe on Rancho El Rincon, which is California Historical Landmark No. 191. This is now the home of Fenton Slaughter's granddaughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Fryer. All enjoyed the visit to their museum in the 159-year old abode. Our Society visited the museum on the 1934 Pilgrimage.

After leaving the museum we went through Corona, past the site of a Butterfield Stage Station (Landmark No. 188) and the Old Temescal Road marker at the entrance to Glen Ivy Hot Springs (Landmark No. 638); then through Perris to San Jacinto to visit the old two-story brick Estudillo mansion where Mr. and Mrs. Norman MacLeod opened their home to us. This mansion was built by Francisco Estudillo from bricks made on the property.

Next we proceeded to El Fiestero's for lunch. Members and guests then walked to the San Jacinto Museum and also visited the Vosberg Hotel.

Our next stop was Casa Loma, the home of Miss Ruth Pico. Our hostess, Miss Pico welcomed us. Also on hand to welcome our group were several members of Miss Pico's family including: Albert Pico, her nephew and manager of the ranch, her cousins, Martin Aguirre and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Pico and their three children, Mrs. Dolores Aguirre Heinlein and Miss A. Aguirre. Our hostess took us through her home, answered questions and described many of her heirlooms. We then enjoyed a most delightful punch which contained a large strawberry. As we left Casa Loma we enjoyed the wonderful view of the Wolfskill ranch which lies to the north of Miss Pico's home.

Continuing on the Anza Trail through San Jacinto Jieho and San Jacinto Nueva y Potrero we passed within view of the new Riverside Campus of the University of California and then paused briefly at the Parent Washington Navel orange tree (Landmark No. 20), planted in 1873 or 1875 by Mr. and Mrs. Luther C. Tibbetts.

We paused briefly at the Agua Mansa Cemetery (all that remains of Agua Mansa village which was destroyed during the Santa Ana River flood of 1862), Landmark No. 131, then went on to our

## *Activities of the Society*

last stop, the San Bernardino County Museum in Bloomington. Our hosts, Dr. Gerald A. Smith, Director of the Museum and Superintendent of the Bloomington schools, and Mr. Burr Belden, first vice-president of the Museum, were waiting to greet us. Ladies of Bloomington served cookies and punch. Members and guests had an opportunity to visit the Museum and meet representatives of other historical societies in the area.

Again, we boarded the buses for our trip home. The last three buses arriving at the Elks Club parking lot shortly after 7:00 p.m. While most agreed the pilgrimage was long, and some times hot, the unusual and interesting places visited, the graciousness with which we were welcomed by all, made this 31st Annual Pilgrimage one we will long remember. The following people participated:

Mrs. Lewis Cadwallader  
Mrs. Ernest Carlander  
Mrs. Mae Carvell  
K. L. Carver  
Rosamond R. Carver  
Katharine Carr  
Mrs. Harry Carr  
Peg Cassidy  
Sister Catherine Siena  
Mrs. Thelma Cederblom  
Alfred S. Chapman  
M. Fern Clawson  
Ella Cole  
Margaret Cole  
Bobby Colman  
Fern Colman  
Leslie E. Colman  
Mrs. Betty Abbey  
Jesse Aguirre  
Mrs. Gertrude R. Allen  
Elsie Amidon  
Sister Anita  
Marguerite Arlotto  
Gustave O. Arlt  
Irving R. Bancroft  
Louis Betbézé  
I. A. Bonilla  
Mrs. I. A. Bonilla  
Mrs. Al Borchard  
Catherine Borchard  
Martha Borchard  
Mrs. Mary Bostwick  
Norris Bostwick  
Eleanor Brockway  
Mrs. Joseph Brown, Jr.  
Meta Bull  
Al Combs  
Fr. Phillip Conneally, S.J.  
Victoria Cook  
Isabel L. Craib  
Robert A. Craib  
Mrs. Sophie Cubbison  
Miss Augustine Dalland  
Juliette DeNubla  
Mrs. Billy Dickens

Arnold Dominguez  
Leonard H. Doré  
Robert Drollinger  
Vera Dunning  
Brother Charles Escobar  
Florence Farmer  
Mrs. Charles Forsler  
Paul L. Fort  
Frank Frank  
C. Marjorie Freeman  
Moris B. Friesch  
Verna E. Friesch  
George E. Fullerton  
Mrs. George E. Fullerton  
C. C. Ganahl  
Dr. Robert Gillingham  
Mrs. Robert Gillingham  
Mary Graham  
Zilla C. Graves  
Mrs. Helen Spalding Groff  
Everett Gordon Hager  
Anna Marie Hager  
Joe Hall  
S. M. Hall  
Mrs. S. M. Hall  
Stafford Hall  
Mrs. Ruth Staff Halliday  
Mrs. Alice Schulz Hansen  
H. Endicott Hansen  
Joseph C. Harker  
Miss Wallace M. Henry  
Mrs. Wm. Jefferson Holmes  
Wm. Jefferson Holmes  
Mrs. Ethel Horth  
Mrs. C. W. Houston  
Flora B. Houston  
Frederick M. Hughes  
Mrs. Frederick M. Hughes  
Violet Ingram  
Heard Izant  
Mrs. Lida Houghton Izant  
Linda Izant  
Eugenia Jones  
Mrs. Ethel Keeler

*(continued)*



# THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mrs. Ruth H. Kemman  
 Margaret Ann Kerr  
 Fred King  
 Helen King  
 Frederick Koenig  
 Mrs. Frederick Koenig  
 George Krain  
 Maymie R. Krythe  
 E. Irene Kuhl  
 Peter Kuhl  
 Mrs. Agnes Lang  
 Mrs. Doris de Laplante  
 Agnes Gentry Lawter  
 Mrs. Grace Lynch  
 Ernest McCabe  
 Meta B. McComas  
 Mrs. James B. McLaughlin  
 Thomas S. McNeill  
 Carmen K. MacFarland  
 Alexander MacKenzie  
 Mrs. June Mesmer MacKenzie  
 Mrs. Helen Mackle  
 Ruth I. Mahood  
 Bill Mason  
 Ransom Matthews  
 Mrs. Ransom Matthews  
 Miss Barbara Metcalf  
 J. A. Mellen  
 Mrs. J. A. Mellen  
 Julio Mendoza  
 Mrs. Josephine Mendoza  
 Mrs. Hazel Merry  
 Mitzi Metz  
 Brother Cassian Miller  
 Mrs. B. Sabichi Mitchell  
 Mrs. Dexter Monroe  
 H. M. Morley  
 Lorrin L. Morrison  
 Carroll S. Morrison  
 Ray Morrison  
 Esther Morrison  
 F. W. Nelson  
 Mrs. Judith Nielsen  
 Joe Northrop  
 Coby Northrop  
 Gary Northrop  
 Larry Northrop  
 Marie E. Northrop  
 W. G. O'Barr  
 Mrs. Milton Offner  
 Lulu R. O'Neal  
 Eleanor Ormandy  
 Mrs. Florence O'Toole  
 Mrs. Frank Pachmayr  
 Elmer R. Pascoe  
 Mrs. Elmer R. Pascoe  
 Tom Patterson  
 Mildred Pearce  
 Ferdinand Perret  
 Gertrude Perret  
 Albert Phillips  
 Louise Phillips  
 Nancy Phillips  
 Ray Phillips  
 Sid Platford

Mrs. S. D. Platford  
 Chuck Powell  
 Ruth Powell  
 Charles Puck  
 Frank B. Putnam  
 Robert Raphael  
 Mrs. Florence Rathbone  
 Jack Reinhard  
 Helen Reinke  
 Eva Louise Robbins  
 Dora M. Robbins  
 George Roberts  
 Mrs. George Roberts  
 Frank L. Robinson  
 Mrs. Georgia M. Kramer Robinson  
 W. W. Robinson  
 Dr. Paul B. Roen  
 Antoinette Rowe  
 Katharine Rowe  
 Frank Rolfe  
 Grace Rolfe  
 Vera C. Rouse  
 Brother Alfred Salz  
 Mrs. Gladys Schmultze  
 Mrs. George Schweikert  
 Belle F. Siegel  
 Mrs. Arlen Simons  
 Mrs. Adella Smith  
 Ralph Smith  
 Mrs. Vern C. Spear  
 John W. Spinks  
 Roberta Steinbeck  
 Francis B. Stewart  
 John Stransky  
 Ruth Stransky  
 Mrs. Beulah O. Stuart  
 George L. Swartz  
 Tomas W. Temple II  
 Gabriela Q. Temple  
 Paulé J. Thomas  
 Richard Thomas  
 Robert H. Thomas  
 Mrs. A. Thorne  
 Mary Tinglof  
 Berger Tinglof  
 Frances S. Titus  
 Mrs. Berenice L. Towers  
 Whit Towers  
 Mrs. Ruth Tozer  
 Mrs. Bessie Vierick  
 J. Murray Watkins  
 Ethel White  
 Michael White  
 Mrs. E. V. Williams  
 Kay Williams  
 Robert Willing  
 Lucretia P. Wolfskill  
 John C. Wolfskill  
 Mrs. Tom Workman  
 Mrs. Ernest Yorba  
 Ernest Yorba  
 Isaline Yule  
 Otto J. Zahn  
 Mrs. Otto J. Zahn  
 Dr. Paul Zahn

## *Gifts to the Society*

*In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.*

*The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.*

*Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.*

MARCO R. NEWMARK,  
*Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests*

RALPH O. CHICK, Los Angeles: Seven issues of *Life Magazine* containing the entire series of historical feature articles, "How the West Was Won."

DONALD C. CUTTER, Los Angeles: Three books for our Library — *California County Boundaries*, by Owen C. Coy; *In the Diggins in '49*, by Owen C. Coy; and *The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo*, by Frances Rand Smith.

MRS. BEATRICE SABICHI MITCHELL, co-chairman of the Society's Hostesses Committee: Two sets of new silver cream pitchers and sugar bowls for exclusive use at Society meetings.

MRS. MARY T. RUNNION: Sepulveda, California: Set of photostats of three letters recording the sentiments of George E. Hutchinson, administrative officer, Los Angeles Newspaper Guild (May 17, 1954); and Congressmen Harry R. Sheppard, (August 16, 1951), and James Roosevelt, (September 17, 1951), concerning the addition of the words "under God" to the "Salute to the Flag."

MISSES MARY and ROSALIE WILLIAMS, Los Angeles (through the courtesy of Stewart W. Patton, San Marino): Box of letters, muster rolls and documents concerning the organization and activities of the Military Training School of Los Angeles, which was organized in May, 1916, and conducted to give World War I recruits and draftees pre-enlistment training in military drill and tactics. Colonel Arthur Williams (U.S.A. Retd.), father of the two donors, was commandant of the school.

DR. CARL I. WHEAT (founding editor of *The QUARTERLY*) through the courtesy of Legory H. O'Laughlin: One two-volume set of Dr. Wheat's monumental work. *Mapping the Transmississippi West, 1540-1861*. (See next issue of *The QUARTERLY* for book review of this work.)



## *New Members*

The Officers and Board of Directors of the *Historical Society of Southern California* take pleasure in welcoming fifty-two new members who have joined the Society during the second quarter of this year. The new members are:

### LIFE MEMBERSHIP:

Mrs. John D. Gregg

### SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP:

Sol Lesser

### ANNUAL MEMBERSHIPS:

Mrs. Luis G. Alvarez  
 Mrs. Alvin M. Asher  
 Mrs. Dorothy Hewes Bell  
 J. S. Canner Company, Inc.  
 Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Carter  
 Dr. Donald A. Charnock  
 Mrs. E. R. Chilcott  
 Clifford C. Colyer  
 Al Coombs  
 Mrs. Charles Cramer  
 Rosario Andrea Curletti  
 Dwight S. Cushman  
 Charles John Demateis  
 Mrs. Victor A. Duque  
 Edward Eberstadt & Sons  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Salter Eby  
 Mrs. Jessie Edmonds  
 Miss Jeanne C. Everett  
 B. F. Flynn  
 Lawrence P. Frank  
 Mrs. Walter L. Fryer  
 Allen W. Goddard  
 Mrs. Mary Graham  
 Mrs. Eldon Haskell  
 Miss Wallace M. Henry

W. F. Holtz  
 Mrs. Eugenia Jones  
 Kern County Free Library  
 Kern County Museum  
 LaHabra High School Library  
 Miss Margaret C. Leighton  
 George W. Loring  
 Mrs. Francis S. McComb  
 Dr. Donaldo Manuel  
 Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Mellen  
 Mr. and Mrs. Elder R. Morgan  
 Remi A. Nadeau  
 Charles F. Outland  
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# Historical Society of Southern California

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California





September, 1959

Vol. XLI — No. 3

*The*

*Historical Society of Southern California*

# QUARTERLY



—From the Margaret Romer Collection

## PLAQUE HONORS JUANA MARIA

*The last member of the Canalino Indian Tribe is honored by this marker in Santa Barbara Mission Cemetery. (See THE LAST OF THE CANALINOS, page 241.)*



**T**HE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for three-quarters of a century. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

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**THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA**

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The  
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

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# The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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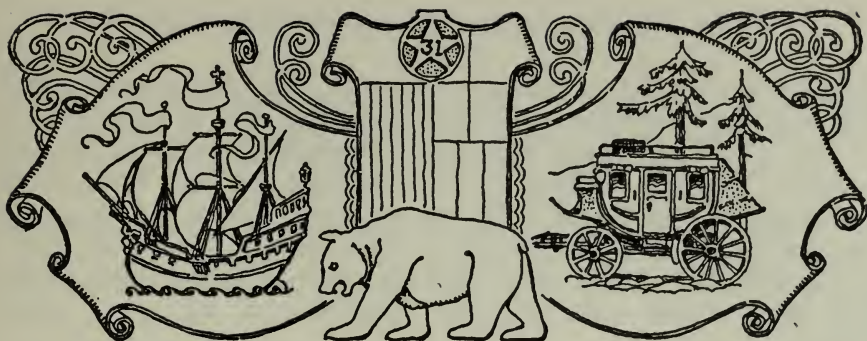
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*The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY for September, 1959

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# Times Gone By *in* Alta California

*Recollections of*  
SENORA DONA JUANA MACHADO ALIPAZ DE RIDINGTON  
(WRIGHTINGTON)  
*Bancroft Library, 1878*

*Translated and Annotated*  
**By Raymond S. Brandes**

## INTRODUCTION

**J**UANA MACHADO was born March 8, 1814, at San Diego, California. She was one of nine children born to José Manuel Machado, a soldier, and María Serafina Valdéz.

In the foreword to the manuscript following, which Juana Machado dictated to Thomas Savage (an agent of Hubert H. Bancroft) on January 11, 1878, Juana was described as an intelligent woman who concealed her age in an extraordinary manner. She was 64 years old at that time. She lived until December 24, 1901, reaching the age of 87 years.

Juana Machado married the first time in 1829 at the age of 15 years. Her husband, Dámasio Alipáz, came from a family very



well known in early California history. The father and grandfather of Dámasio were well known soldiers of their day.

By Dámasio, Juana had three daughters. Ramona, the first daughter, married William Curley and then William Williams on the death of the former. María Arcadia, the second daughter, married Captain Robert D. Israel, for years the lighthouse keeper at Point Loma. Josefa, the third daughter, married Juan Peters. The latter couple were my great grandmother and great grandfather.

Dámasio Alipáz was killed sometime around 1835 in Sonora. After some five years, Juana Machado Alipáz married Thomas Wrightington, a man from Fall River, Massachusetts, who represented himself well in the history of San Diego. By Thomas Wrightington, Juana had two sons, José and Luis, and a daughter, Serafina.

After Father Antonio Ubach came to San Diego in 1866, he often asked Juana to act as a midwife, to help with sick ones and to act as interpreter. She never hesitated and later on was foster mother to several children. The most notable was Diego Hunter, first child born to American parents in San Diego. His father was Jesse Hunter of the Mormon Battalion. Jesse and his wife made the journey to San Diego from Council Bluffs, Iowa, arriving January 29, 1847. Diego Hunter was born a short time later. The mother of Diego died within a few days, and Captain Hunter entrusted the child to Juana who cared for the baby as she had cared for his mother. Diego grew to manhood cherishing the love of Juana Machado.

It is said that Juana was the first woman of Spanish descent to speak the English language in Old Town and that she conversed in English, Spanish, and the provincial speech of the Indians with equal fluency.

Changes of government and policies, with such frequency as were found in the early days, made changes in the fortunes of Juana, as they did with many others. Business was transacted freely and often without benefit of any written documents. Many owners of property had no written deeds; and they had been told by men whose words were accepted without question, that they would never be molested, and felt that their words were all the evidence needed. When the United States land agents confiscated properties, Juana lost many of the things she had inherited and worked hard for.

Juana died in comparative poverty on Coronado Island at the home of a daughter, María Arcadia Israel. She passed away on

*Times Gone By in Alta California*

December 24, 1901, poor in material things but blessed with the knowledge of the many friendships she had and with the knowledge that she had helped a great many people in her lifetime.

JOSE MANUEL MACHADO — *m.* — MARIA SERAFINA VALDEZ  
(b. 1756 - d. Oct. 18, 1852) (b. 1764 - d. March 12, 1861)

—Juan Machado  
(b. 1809 - d. July 9, 1880)

—María Guadalupe  
Gregoria Machado  
(b. April 25, 1810 - d. (no record))

—Juana Machado — *m.* — Dámasio Alipáz, Aug. 22, 1829  
(b. March 8, 1814 - d. Dec. 24, 1901) (b. — - d. ca 1835)

—María Antonio  
Juliana Machado  
b. Dec. 12, 1815 - d. (no record)

—José Arcadia Machado  
(b. Jan. 12, 1818 - d. May 12, 1873)

—María Guadalupe  
Yldefonsa Machado  
(b. March 1, 1820 - d. 1862?)

—Jesus Machado  
(b. 1823 - d. (no record))

—Rafael Machado  
(b. 1827 - d. (no record))

—Rosa Machado  
(b. Nov. 15, 1828 - d. May 12, 1873)

—Ramona Alipáz

—Josefa Alipáz

—María Arcadia Alipáz

*2nd. m.*

—Thomas Wrightington  
(b. — - d. July 8, 1853)

—José Wrightington

—Luis Wrightington

—Serafina Wrightington



## Dona Juana Machado (Mrs. Ridington)

FOREWORD OF MR. THOMAS SAVAGE

This lady is the widow of the late Thomas Wrightington. Never had an opportunity to acquire an education, cannot read or write, but is able to speak English quite fluently. She is quite intelligent and conceals her age in the most extraordinary manner, is 64 years old and no one would take her to be much over 45, has hair as black as a raven's wing, without the slightest sign of gray.

She has one son and four daughters living, one son died; the four daughters are married to Americans. She also had two granddaughters married to American husbands, who have made her a great-grandmother.

She has now living 24 grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

The lady likewise had a cousin named Catalina López, who married an American. They moved to Philadelphia, the wife died leaving descendants there.

The old lady looks healthy and hearty and promises to live to see her great-great-grandchildren. She has assured me that she never knew what a serious illness was, and never had occasion to call a physician to attend her except when confined to bring her children into the world.

THOMAS C. SAVAGE

*January 11, 1878}*  
*North San Diego}*

**I**, JUANA DE DIOS MACHADO, was born at the Old San Diego Presidio. I do not recall the day, nor the month or year. but I believe that I am about 64 years of age.

My father, José Manuel Machado, was corporal of the San Diego Company.<sup>1</sup> My mother, María Serafina Valdéz,<sup>2</sup> was born in Santa Barbara, and I think my father was born in Los Angeles; his father being a soldier there also.

I knew my paternal grandmother. I was married for five years to Dámasio Alipáz.<sup>3</sup> After four or five years of widowhood, I was married to Mr. Thomas Ridington,<sup>4</sup> native of Massachusetts.

My father was one of the founders of Pala,<sup>5</sup> Las Flores,<sup>6</sup> and Temécula.<sup>7</sup> He served also at San Luis Rey.

It was the custom when I was a little girl for the San Diego Comandante to station each year a sergeant, a corporal and ten soldiers at Mission San Luis Rey; and when this corps had served there a year, it was relieved by another similar force. After Lieu-

### *Times Gone By in Alta California*

tenant Colonel Echeandía came to govern the country,<sup>8</sup> the guard at that mission was reduced to a corporal and five soldiers. The government maintained this same force at each of the missions from San Gabriel southward.

Later, during the administration of General Figueroa,<sup>9</sup> there soon was established a military command at San Gabriel, with Lieutenant Colonel Nicolas Gutierrez in charge.<sup>10</sup>

I was about eight or ten years old and was still at the old presidio.

When my father, like other married soldiers, was on duty as guard at the missions, they took the families along with them. When my dear mother was advanced in pregnancy and close to delivery, she came in time to the house of Alferez Ignacio Martinez,<sup>11</sup> married to Doña María Martina Arellanes. They were godparents at my baptism; I was baptized at the same old presidio where may still be seen the ruins of the buildings.

When I was eight or ten years old, my father left in command of an expedition of twenty-five men. At the time he was taking care of the National Ranch belonging to the presidio of San Diego. The object was to go in pursuit of Indian horse thieves. There were at that time three bad Indians, celebrated for their wrong-doing. They were called Martin, Cartucho, and Augustin.<sup>12</sup> The first and third were surely Christian Indian fugitives; of Cartucho I don't know. He and the other two came in by way of Jacum.<sup>13</sup>

The expedition arrived at the entrance of Jacum canyon, a very narrow place. On the two hills were the allied Indians. Nevertheless, the theft of the herd of the National Ranch was accomplished by the three ringleaders alone; and although the soldiers were able to perceive them, they could not recover the horses.

My father and his soldiers had a very stubborn fight with the Indians. Agustin grasped my father by his braided hair and pulled him off his horse. Fortunately one of the soldiers (named José Antonio Silvas; better known as Pico Silvas)<sup>14</sup> hurried to his aid, and my father was able to draw his knife and plunge it into the belly of the Indian, scattering his intestines and leaving him dead.

My father cut off his ears and tore out his hair (it was the custom then) and these he presented to the Comandante of San Diego on his return.

The other Indians fled to the mountains and the herd of horses was lost; the only horse they were able to capture was the one which Agustin rode.

I well remember the expedition of the insurgents commanded by Bouchard. After they were at Monterey, where they did all



sorts of damage, they came to the Ortega ranch at El Refugio, where they also committed grave outrages. After that they were at Santa Barbara but did not land.

Afterwards they disembarked at San Juan Capistrano and spilled the wine and olive oil stored in the warehouses. It was said that they stole silver ornaments and other church property; but of this I cannot speak with certainty.<sup>15</sup>

At this time I was about six years old, or perhaps a little more, because I well recall the occurrences.

From the gate of the presidio plaza we saw one of the frigates when it sailed from False Bay <sup>16</sup> for this port. The officials gave the soldiers orders to take the families away to Mission San Diego. They took us there but before starting the journey there arrived a soldier named Serapio, one of those stationed at the castillo<sup>17</sup> to say that this had been taken by a boat from the enemy ship which landed two officers and some soldiers.

The insurgents did no damage in the castillo, but they did take on board Corporal Juan Osuna<sup>18</sup> and a soldier whom everyone called Dominguitos. Serapio, who found himself and his horse in the hills, began to run to give the news to his comandante. Corporal Osuna and the soldier were afterwards put ashore at Ensenada, and by land they returned to San Diego.

I heard it said at that time that the Bouchard insurgents did damage at Cape San Lucas, and sacked the church of Loreto. Some of them were killed there.

A little before the expedition which went out commanded by my father, and of which I have spoken before, I was present at the change of flags when the Spanish flag was lowered and the Mexican raised. Up to this time for some years the troops and families had suffered many privations through lack of clothing and other things, by reason of the war for independence in Mexico the memoranda from the King did not arrive.

We did not lack food because there was an abundance of cattle and other animals, to the point that we were accustomed to eat nothing but the finest and most succulent meat, the rest was thrown away, or we gave it to the Indians if there was any.

The women had in their houses their own shoe shops, and there with little pieces of leather and scraps they made their footwear.

The great scarcities of scraps and articles of necessity or luxury which were experienced became less noticeable afterwards when ships began to arrive, bringing us chocolate, clothes, etc., but this was very much later.

The change of flag was in 1822.

### *Times Gone By in Alta California*

I forgot to say that a little later after the unseasonable visit which the insurgents made us in 1819 there arrived at San Diego overland from Baja California, Captain Don Pablo de la Portilla<sup>19</sup> with a company of Mazatecos. This troop was called "Active Militia Squadron of Mazatlan." They arrived rather crippled from the journey which they had made. The Viceroy sent them to reinforce the California guard. When it was known here that they were on the road the officials of this presidio sent them a number of horses; but nevertheless most of them arrived here on foot.

The officers of this squadron were the lieutenants Juan María Ibarra,<sup>20</sup> a very dark man, big and ugly, Narcise Fabregat,<sup>21</sup> a Catalanian. He was a man of about 38 or 40 years, fair and good-looking, slender and about five feet, eight or nine inches tall; Alferez Ignacio Delgado,<sup>22</sup> young, fair of average height and slightly stout. His wife Dona Lugarda, was a native of Mazatlan, Sonora, very skillful in all kinds of sewing, artificial flowers and other fancy work. The young Pico girls, I, and many others went to learn all these things from her.

At this same time I knew a Señora Apolinaria Lorenzana, whom everyone called La Beata. She was never married. I know that she is still living in Santa Barbara at the home of Doña Trinidad Noriega.

This Doña Apolinaria came from Mexico with other girls named Valeriana and Mariana, they were children of the foundling hospital that the administration of the Viceroy sent to California; the other two married and had large families.

Doña Apolinaria dedicated herself to the service of the church and to the care of the padres at Mission San Diego. There in the mission she taught girls, whose parents asked the favor, to read and write. She did not have a formal school, but devoted what time she could to it. She went by the name of Doña Apolinaria La Cuna. She was godmother to a large number of children, of civilized people as well as of Indians.<sup>23</sup>

The change of flag in 1822 was as follows:

There came from the north (I do not recall whether by sea or land) a prebendary called Don Valentin Fernandez de San Vicente,<sup>24</sup> who brought with him a chaplain or secretary, I do not know what he was. I do not remember ever having seen him dressed as a priest. The prebendary wore a garment of a color resembling red. This gentleman was the agent of the Mexican empire to establish here the new order of things. I well recall that when some woman or girl, excited by the richness and the colors of his dress, which were really very showy and handsome would



ask, "Who is this gentleman?" someone would answer, "The prebendary."

Such a person never had been seen before in California. He and his companion stayed above in the house of the comandante. The comandante was Captain Francisco María Ruiz,<sup>25</sup> who had been in office for many years.

The troops of infantry, cavalry and some few artillery were ordered to form in the plaza of the presidio; the cannons were put outside the plaza to the door of the guard room, looking toward the ocean. There was as yet no flag. A corporal or soldier had the Spanish flag on a little stick, and another the Mexican flag. When Comandante Ruiz, in the presence of the official, Don José María Estudillo,<sup>26</sup> cried out "Long live the Mexican Empire!" the Spanish flag was lowered and the Mexican flag raised in the midst of salvos of artillerymen and musketeers. After this the troops did nothing.

On the following day an order was given to cut off the braids of the soldiers. This produced in everyone, men and women, a very disagreeable reaction. The former were accustomed to wear their hair long and braided with a knot of ribbon or silk at the end; on some it came below the waist; it was somewhat like the manner of the Chinese with the exception that they did not shave any part of the head.

This order was carried out. I remember that when papa came home with his braid in his hand and gave it to mama his face was very sad and that of mama no less so; she looked at the braid and cried.<sup>27</sup>

The manner in which men dressed during my childhood until Echeandia arrived was as follows:

Undershirt of cotton or other material; waistcoat without facings which came down to the waist; of different colors; but the troops wore blue. Over the waistcoat was the doublet which was a coat with lapels<sup>28</sup> on the sides; with red borders on all the edges; and with a red collar. That is what the troops wore, and the countrymen who were very few and the retired soldiers wore more or less the same, the color being varied by each according to his likes.

Short trousers of cloth, nankeen,<sup>29</sup> drill,<sup>30</sup> or whatever each one had; the troops wore cloth. These short trousers reached to the knees where they had openings on the outside with flaps which fell on each side and six buttons on each side.

Then came the chamois legging; it was a piece of chamois about three-quarters long, which went around the leg and was tied with ribbons or tapes. This chamois was ornamented with tooling; underneath on the feet were shoes and stockings.

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On his head the man wore his hat of felt, straw, vicuna,<sup>31</sup> and the fine ones that came from Spain were carefully treated. For common use the men wore hats of palm which the Indians made.

I recall a very sad California episode; I believe it was at the beginning of 1838.<sup>32</sup> Living at Jamul ranch <sup>33</sup> was Doña Eustaquia López,<sup>34</sup> widow of Pico, and mother of Don José Antonio, Don Pío, and Don Andres Pico, with her unmarried daughters, Feliciana, Jacinta, and Isadora. (Feliciana was afterwards married to Ramon, son of Captain Santiago Argüello); Jacinta was afterwards married to her brother-in-law, José Antonio Carrillo who<sup>35</sup> had been the husband of Estefana; Isadora is the wife of Mr. John Forster,<sup>36</sup> owner of Santa Margarita.

Early one afternoon an Indian woman named Cesárea came to where Doña Eustaquia was sitting at the door looking toward the street and in a loud voice asked her for salt. The mistress ordered that salt be brought her, but the Indian woman, by sign, gave her to understand that she wished her to give it to her, herself. The mistress got up and the Indian woman followed her. Arriving at a secluded spot the Indian woman in a tongue which Doña Eustaquia understood well, told her that the Indians were going to rise, kill the men, and make captives of the women.

Doña Eustaquia with much prudence went to the room where her daughters were sewing; she told them to leave their work, take their rebosos (all of the women wore rebosos at that time), and go for a walk along the edge of the cornfield, saying that she would soon follow them.

With much secrecy she called the mayordomo,<sup>37</sup> a relative of hers named Juan Leiva,<sup>38</sup> and told him what Cesárea had revealed to her and saying besides that she herself had for some days noticed things among the Indians which had made her suspicious, although these had not been great.

The mayordomo assured her that there was no danger whatever, advising her to calm herself, as he had men and twelve fire-arms well loaded. Doña Eustaquia again urged him to place her and her family in safety. He, confident of his strength, refused to do what she advised. Then Doña Eustaquia told him to send a carreta<sup>39</sup> with oxen along the road to the cornfield. She started on the road to meet her daughters. The carreta came along to them, with only one hide in it; in which they arrived at Jamacha ranch<sup>40</sup> (belonging to the already mentioned Doña Apolinaria, who had a mayordomo in charge there,) in the middle of the night; thence after telling the mayordomo and his family what was going on, they continued the journey to San Diego and reported to the alcalde,



Don José Antonio Estudillo, who at once sent people to protect those at the ranch, but they arrived late.

The Indians did not attack the same night, but the following; of a sudden they fell upon servants at the ranch; who were the mayordomo, Juan Leiva, his son José Antonio, a youth named Molina, and another from Lower California named Comancho. They killed all at the cornfield, except Juan Leiva who broke away towards the house to defend his family.

When he went towards the gun room an Indian cleaning woman of the house who had locked that room and put the key in her pocket, mockingly showed him the key; saying that there were no hopes in that direction.

Leiva ran to the kitchen and with coals of fire defended himself for a while; but at the end they killed him and threw his body into the hall of the house. Afterward they overcame his wife Doña María, a little son named Claro, and his two daughters Tomasa and Ramona (15 and 12 years old, respectively).

At this point in the manuscript Thomas Savage states,

The affair at Jamul was related to me in conversation by Dona Isadora Pico, (Mrs. John Forster), one of the young women who escaped with their mother in almost the same terms, but Mrs. Forster couldn't remember the year.

The Indians were going to kill Doña María and the boy when the supplications of Doña Tomasa made them desist. They took off all the woman's clothes and those of the boy, and in spite of the screams and moans of all the family they carried off the two girls towards the Colorado river. Before starting they removed everything from the ranch, taking with them horses, cattle, and all other things of value; and burned the houses.

Poor Doña María covered her nakedness with grasses and thus reached Mission San Diego, which was in charge of Fathers Vicente Pasqual Olivas,<sup>41</sup> and Fernando Martin.<sup>42</sup>

All the efforts that were made to recover the lost property and much great effort to ransom the kidnaped girls were useless. Until this day what was the fate of those unhappy creatures is unknown.

Sergeant Macedonio Gonzales,<sup>43</sup> celebrated Indian fighter, told us that once he went from Mission San Miguel in Lower California to Jacumba Mountain with a considerable force to see about rescuing these girls, who were his nieces.

On reaching the foot of the mountain he saw many men and women Indians above, eating meat of the cattle which they had stolen. When they saw him they began to shout and threaten him,

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saying that they also had courage, and if he wanted to come up where they were, that there were Tomasa and Ramona.

He said that actually he saw these two girls, apparently with white bodies painted and with hair cut in Indian fashion. He saw their bodies because in that time the Indians did not wear clothes, except a covering of rabbit skins, which they called Pajales, over their privates; he did not dare to fire, fearing that they really were his nieces and the shots might kill them.

Afterwards the Indians left the rock to which they had ascended and disappeared. It was not possible for him to climb with his horses to that height. He spoke kindly to the Indians, and made them very generous offers of cattle, horses, etc., as ransom for the girls, but the Indians accepted nothing.

Some years afterwards when these same Indians were at peace, he again offered them ransom, but all his efforts were in vain.

The authors of these misfortunes were the Indians Cartucho and Martin I have spoken of before. Other Indians afterwards said that Cartucho had Tomasa for his wife and Martin had Ramona for his wife.

When the padres were still at Mission San Diego, robberies by the Indians of horses and cattle were quite common. The troops would go out in search of them, succeeding sometimes in redeeming the stolen property, and other times not. Several times the leaders were caught and punished.

In the year 1838 or 1839 during or close to Lent, an Indian conspiracy was discovered; to steal property, kill the men, and take the women captive. The principal conspirators were Nario, a Christian from Lower California; José María, also from Lower California; Carrancio of Cuyamaca mountain and married in San Diego; Juan Antonio from here, San Diego; Pedro Pablo; I think this last also from the same mountain. Early one afternoon a young Indian girl named Candelaria,<sup>44</sup> a servant in the home of Captain Fitch, (Henry D.)<sup>45</sup> came in a little before the family was going to supper and she told Mrs. Fitch, Doña Josefa Carrillo,<sup>46</sup> godmother of Candelaria, that she ought to be on guard because she heard the Indians in the kitchen say they were going to kill the clerk in the Fitch store, (an American named Lawrence Hatwell) rob the house, and commit other crimes; among other things burn the buildings and carry off the women.

Three of those named were servants of the (Fitch) house, and José María of the house of Don José Antonio Estudillo. The other I do not remember well.

The lady sent out to find the alcalde Juan María Marron,<sup>47</sup> and



revealed to him what she had heard. Marron and the clerk notified Alferez Macedonio Gonzalez. I do not recall whether Gonzalez was here at the time or whether they sent to find him at Mission San Miguel in Lower California.

After reflection and inquiring of other persons, I say positively that Macedonio Gonzales was here in San Diego on the other side of the river, living in the house of an old soldier named Herculaneo Olivas.

The day after learning that the Indians intended to attack this village which was undefended because the only men in it were the alcalde Marron, the aged Don José Bandini, Captain Santiago Argüello, José Antonio Estudillo, a Spaniard named Don Rafael, (known as El Gachupin) and a few others, it was decided that the women should go to the huts where the foreigners cured hides, situated on the same side as the castillo and near it.

We arrived there at sunset and passed the night there, the Picos, my family; we were many. The foreigners were some eight or ten who protected us. The morning following they came with us to the pueblo and remained on guard for a week, more or less, until the Indian ring-leaders had been shot. All was quiet and now we considered ourselves out of danger. Then they went back to the huts. There is still living here in San Diego he who was boss of those laborers and who came in command of them. He is named John Stewart<sup>48</sup> and has a large family. He says (according to his recollection) this occurred in 1842; but I think it was in 1838 or 1839.

The fact is that Gonzalez without making any noise managed to capture these Indians. He got their statements and through these it was proved that they had plotted the conspiracy to which I have referred. Next he took them to a little canyon which lies beside the present Protestant cemetery, and there, without allowing them any spiritual aid, had the five shot. They were buried at the place of execution.

This execution took place at about five P.M. of the afternoon after they were taken prisoner, and this was two days after the young Indian girl Candelaria gave the warning. The Indian girl said also that she had heard the Indians say that at the old presidio they had ready arrows and clubs against the time when the others came down from Cuyamaca. Then they would make the attack they had contrived.<sup>49</sup>

I ought to say that at this time there was no military force here; the only authority was the alcalde Marron.

The Company of San Diego presidio, or better, the small part

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of it which remained in the service, was then stationed at San Luis Rey, Alferez Juan Salazar<sup>50</sup> in command. The presidio had ceased to exist. No one lived there. The people were living in what is today called North San Diego and the neighboring ranches.

In the year 1825 I married for the first time. Here already was the first Comandante Colonel Don José María de Echeandía who had come with a reputation from Mexico. My husband Dámasio Alipáz was a soldier of the San Diego Company. I was about fifteen years old. The bridesmaid was Doña Isadora Pico, who was as yet unmarried. The best man was Juan Machado, my brother, who was never a soldier.<sup>51</sup>

Señor Echeandía and all of the officials were present at the marriage and attended the wedding dinner. Among the officials were Alferez Romualdo Pacheco, Alferez Juan Rocha,<sup>52</sup> Lieutenant Agustin V. Zamorano,<sup>53</sup> and Captain Don Santiago Argüello.<sup>54</sup>

After we came out of the church and turned toward the house at about ten A.M. there was a breakfast followed by a dance. There was dancing until the dinner hour, about two P.M. At our house at that time were Señor Echeandía and his officers. When dinner was over they began dancing again and went on dancing all night. The Comandante General and the officers retired uphill at five in the afternoon.

All the weddings in those times were generally celebrated in the same way.

I recall when in 1825 there came here to San Diego, Captain Don Luis Antonio Argüello, Governor and Comandante of the men of this California to deliver the command to his successor, Señor Echeandía. He stayed at the house of his brother, Captain Don Santiago, who was comandante of the presidio.

Don Luis Antonio Argüello<sup>55</sup> was tall, corpulent, with a large, fat, white face, black eyes and very black hair. I never spoke with him, but from what I saw and from appearances I formed the opinion that he was a kind and affable man.

His brother Santiago was rather bulky, of average height, very white, with beard and hair black, eyes of the same color. He was very amiable in his dealings; just to the troop without being despotic. I never heard any soldier complain of him during the many years he commanded them here.

Señor Echeandía was a man of very fair complexion, tall, slender, of graceful figure, elegant manners, highly affable in his conduct; very fond of dancing, a great eater and fond of other recreations.

During his command he was working with the troops to make



a dam of stones and motar in a cañada in front of the houses of the fort in order to supply it with water; but the dam lasted only while he remained here and a little after he left the troop the water itself destroyed the dam, and the ruins are still there.

Señor Echeandía lived here in San Diego. He made excursions to Monterey and other military points, and to the missions, but his residence was always in San Diego.

In 1829 when the military revolution in Monterey occurred that placed Joaquin Solis<sup>56</sup> at its head, after taking possession of that plaza and that of San Francisco, the rebels approached Santa Barbara, where Comandante General Echeandía awaited them with troops from that place and from here, and with citizens from Los Angeles and from San Diego.

If the rebels had taken Santa Barbara they would have attacked San Diego, which was their plan.

The officers whom they made prisoner in Monterey, that is, Don Guadalupe Vallejo, Don José Fernandez del Campo<sup>57</sup>, the sub-commissary, Don Manuel Jimeno,<sup>58</sup> Don Juan Rocha, and I do not remember if there were any more, managed to escape from custody, took ship and came to San Diego where I saw them.

My husband Dámasio Alipáz, was one of the soldiers who accompanied Señor Echeandía to Santa Barbara and took part in the campaign against the revolutionaries.

Señor Echeandía when he came to California in 1825 not only brought several officers but also a detachment of infantry which was called Fijo de Hidalgo,<sup>59</sup> and was commanded by a sub-lieutenant Estrada.

Very soon after their arrival (I do not recall whether it was in the same year of 1825 or at the beginning of 1826), Señor Echeandía left with the sub-lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco, and a force of cavalry to go to the Colorado river, to found a pueblo on the edge of a lake to which they gave the name Laguna de Chapala.<sup>60</sup> My husband was in this expedition. Nothing happened. They found the Indians at peace and regulated, as they let it be understood, to help in the work, by virtue of the remuneration which was promised them.

All being arranged, Echeandía returned with a part of the force leaving there a little detachment. Very shortly came the news that the Indians had risen, and then Don Romualdo Pacheco left for that place with twenty-five men.

They were incorporated with the detachment and together they attacked the Indians. My husband also was with the second expedition. They had difficult fights with the Indians and about

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DONA JUANITA (JUANA MACHADO) AND CACTUS HEDGE AT OLD TOWN

—Courtesy the Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego.





—Courtesy the Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego.

JUANA MACHADO IN THE PATIO OF HER HOME IN OLD TOWN

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six of our men perished, and various others who were brought to the presidio were wounded by arrows. The projected establishment was forever abandoned.

I remember well when Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Victoria arrived and disembarked. He came to succeed Señor Echeandía. I believe it was early in 1831. He did not meet Echeandía here as he was in the north occupied with his plans for the secularization of the missions. One of the final acts of Echeandía was to speed up a decree in order to secularize the missions, but all remained paralyzed with the coming of Victoria, who seemed to have brought orders of another kind from the Governor.

I remember that one day my father went to Mission San Diego and on his return he said to my mama that the Missionary fathers there had been informed that Victoria had promised them that things were going to remain as before; that the missions and the Indians should continue under the care of the padres, which filled them with content.

We all rejoiced much at this news because we believed at that time that the fathers were saintly men and that the taking away of the administration of the secular revenues of the missions was a very great robbery committed against the church and wrongly done them.

Victoria was finally placed in command and Echeandía returned to live here in San Diego as a private gentleman, in rooms in the house of the Señores Estudillo, who supplied him with food and other help.

Señor Victoria continued in command all the rest of the year 1831, maintaining his residence in Monterey. I do not recall that he returned to San Diego during his command until the beginning of 1832 when he embarked for Mexico.

Victoria was tall, fleshy, swarthy. He had the nickname here of "Negro of Acapulco," but I do not think he had any Negro blood. His face seemed to me quite jovial. As he remained here a very short time I did not have occasion to learn what was his way of treating people. I never spoke with him. Already the officials did things differently and did not visit the families of the soldiers, whom now they looked upon as inferiors. In other times they did not make distinctions. The families of the officers and of the soldiers treated each other as equal to equal. I speak of course of respectable families against whom nothing could seemingly be branded.

Afterwards there was much talk against Victoria who was accused of being a despot. All were disgusted with him.



Finally during the last days of November, 1831, Don Juan Bandini and Don Pio Pico with others formed the plan to rise against Victoria, and if I remember well the 30th of the month they attacked the guard and took possession of the cuartel. Afterwards they arrested Captains Portilla and Argüello. These afterwards seeing that there remained no other remedy for them they joined the plan of the insurrection and with them all the soldiers.

Everything being arranged in San Diego, a force set out, commanded by Captain de la Portilla, for Los Angeles, and seized the town putting the alcalde Vincente Sanchez in irons. He and Victoria were friends, and his brother succeeded in leaving the pueblo and going to Victoria, who had heard rumors of the revolution effected here and came by forced marches with 20 or 25 men, having in his company the officer Don Romualdo Pacheco.

In the Arroyo Seco near Los Angeles the opposing forces met but there was no engagement between them as those of Portilla withdrew. But there was a personal fight between Don José María Avila<sup>61</sup> and Don Romualdo Pacheco<sup>62</sup> in which the latter was killed. Avila also was wounded by Victoria and finally one of the soldiers of Victoria killed him. He (Victoria) came off with a lance wound supposed to have been given him by this same Avila.

Victoria did not continue on to Los Angeles, because his force was very small, but retired towards San Gabriel, to heal his wound. I heard said that Victoria's soldiers also rose against him joining his enemies.

The insurrectionists called Señor Echeandia to take command, which he had exercised previously, and he acceded.

The territorial Diputación called Don Pio Pico, its first vocal, to assume the duties of Political Chief, but this gentleman found opposition on the part of the ayuntamiento<sup>63</sup> and the pueblo of Los Angeles, who preferred that Echeandía should exercise both commands, and thus the matter stood. Pico did not reach the importance of functioning as Political Chief.

Señor Victoria, abandoned by his forces, without prestige or any means of recuperating his power, resolved to surrender, and was obliged to leave California.<sup>64</sup> The insurrectionists, as soon as his wound was healed, put him aboard a frigate here in San Diego, on an American frigate, which I believe was called the "California."

Thus California was rid of the agent who had made himself hated by his acts of despotism as well as by his opposition to the desires of the Californians.

I hardly remember anything about the administration of

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Señor Echeandía in the second period. I was very young to occupy myself with governmental affairs.

General José Figueroa took command at the beginning of 1833. I saw him once here in San Diego on the way to the church from the house of the Comandante; but I do not remember it well enough to be able to give a description of him.

In 1834 there arrived at this port Señor Juan Bandini<sup>65</sup> who had been deputy from California in Mexico, in the Mexican brigantine *Natalia*.<sup>66</sup> With him came Don José María Híjar<sup>67</sup> and a portion of a colony sent here to settle.

The colonists landed at the huts of the strangers in that port. From there they came towards the pueblo, but were detained at a place beside the river called Huisache,<sup>68</sup> by a little tree that stood there and which still exists.

The news reached the Comandante of this presidio that the colonists were bringing in measles. The Comandante sent to the Mission to ask that food for the sick be brought from there and that Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana should come, as she was a kind of doctor. She came and helped them all, seeing also that they were given proper foods. There in the same place, Huisache, a kitchen was established.

The men, women, and children who were well, continued their travels northward; the sick, as soon as they recovered, also followed northward. Some died and were buried, some at the presidio, but the larger part at the Mission San Diego, because of the fear that existed here that they would bring us the pestilence.

I did not see Señor Híjar. Here they talked about the colony as an affair of Bandini. It was called Bandini's colony.

Some few months later I saw some of these colonists at San Luis Rey. There were a few sick people and others convalescing, but they all said that they must go on northward.

General Figueroa died in 1835. Lieutenant Colonel Gutierrez succeeded to the command provisionally. I saw this gentleman on horseback once at San Gabriel when he was going to leave for Los Angeles. He seemed to me to be a stout man. I did not have opportunity to see his face clearly. I was told that he was a good man.

Soon as Comandante General and Political Chief came Colonel Mariano Chico<sup>69</sup> whom I never saw. He was in California a very short time. We heard here that he had serious disputes with the Ayuntamiento of Monterey and the territorial Diputación<sup>70</sup> because the people in the north set little value on his authority; that he was an extravagant man and quarrelsome, not very ethical, and disposed to enforce a despotic authority; and when he saw that the



people did not fear him, nor pay much attention to him, he was infuriated and started to Mexico, swearing he would return with a considerable force to make the Californians understand how they ought to respect his authority.

Here we were alarmed for some time because we believed that Chico might carry out his threats, but luckily nothing happened and Señor Chico did not return.

When Chico left for Mexico, he left Lieutenant Colonel Gutierrez in charge of the civil and military commands, against whom a little later the Montereyans rebelled, obliging him and his sympathizers to embark for Mexico.

The revolutionists called Don Juan Bautista Alvarado<sup>71</sup> to be governor of what was called the Free and Sovereign State of California. This regime was not recognized by the inhabitants of Los Angeles or of San Diego, and there went from here forces to co-operate with those of Los Angeles in opposing the projects of Señor Alvarado and his partisans from Monterey.

I could not very well inform myself about these affairs because I was at that time on our ranch about ten leagues distant from San Diego. None of my family took part in these wars and disputes, nor in those which followed afterwards with the rival claims of the said Alvarado and Don Carlos Antonio Carrillo<sup>72</sup> who called himself Governor.

I know that our people of the South suffered misfortune in San Buenaventura and later at Las Flores; the said Carrillo and his son Pedro, Don Andrés Pico, Don Gil Ibarra,<sup>73</sup> alcalde of Los Angeles, Don José Antonio Carrillo and others being captured. They were taken to Santa Barbara and some of them afterwards sent as prisoners to Sonoma where the Comandante General Don Mariano G. Vallejo<sup>74</sup> lived.

The night of the 24th of December, 1837, (if I am not mistaken about the year) all of the families here in San Diego were in the house of Don Pio Pico. He was playing the role of the Devil in the Pastorela.

This was kind of a religious comedy in which appeared various characters, among them an Angel, the Devil, a Hermit, A Bartolo.<sup>75</sup> Six girls took part, on each side, dressed in white and little colored mantles. During the enactment of the play, the women sang appropriate songs adoring the infant Jesus. Of the women who took part in the play I remember Doña Isadora Pico and Doña Guadalupe Estudillo who were young unmarried girls. I believe that Doña Felipe Osuna de Marron<sup>76</sup> also took part.

When we were absorbed in the play, a man came to the door

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of the house and knocked. This man was none other than Don José Castro,<sup>77</sup> Comandante of the Monterey forces, who had stationed his men around the house, entirely surrounding us. At the very door he arrested Don Pio Pico and others, among them Don Joaquin Ortega.<sup>78</sup> At the intercession of his wife, they freed the last mentioned on the way.

The party ended suddenly, and the families retired to their houses, grieving over the fate of our captured countrymen.

Castro did not take the men from the house that night but remained with them, the house being guarded on all sides. At dawn they began the march towards the north.

I think that it was during the detention of Don Pio at Santa Barbara the sad event took place at his Jamul ranch.

Finally the uprisings of Alvarado and Carrillo ended because the government appointed the former as Governor. Señor Alvarado finished secularizing all the missions. His tenure lasted until the end of 1842 when there arrived General Micheltorena<sup>79</sup> as Governor and Comandante General of this department, bringing with him a great following of officers and a battalion of infantry whom our people called Los Cholos.<sup>80</sup>

The battalion was called Battalion Permanente Fijo de Californias. The people of whom the battalion was composed were thieves and criminals drawn from the Mexican prisons, and prisoners of Chapala. That is what was said about them.

Here in San Diego they were unable to do any damage because we were so afraid of them that we had hidden everything. They did not lack some good men among them, and the officers conducted themselves properly. General Micheltorena was well liked. We never had any complaint against him; and if any of his soldiers committed an offense he had him immediately punished.

They were here sometimes during which the General had the troop learning military operations. Afterwards they marched to Los Angeles. I do not recall whether they went directly overland, or if they sailed for San Pedro, to go from there to Los Angeles.

Señor Micheltorena was Governor until the end of 1844 when there was a rebellion against him in Monterey. Here we heard little or nothing of the acts of the Governor, although rumors were not lacking that his troops behaved badly.

The result of this revolution was that at the beginning of 1845 the opposing forces met, commanded respectively by General Micheltorena and Don José Castro chief of the insurrectionists, at Cahuenga. There it was agreed that Micheltorena should leave California with his officers and troop. There remained only some



few soldiers and perhaps a few soldiers against whom there appeared to be no cause for antipathy.

Micheltorena left California in a boat which took them aboard in San Pedro.

Then Don Pio Pico as First Vocal of the Assembly remained as Interim Governor, and later I think he received his appointment in good order from Mexico. Don José Castro remained as Comandante General.

From time to time rumors reached us of bad relations between Pico and Castro but I do not care to speak of these affairs because I have not the information necessary to detail them, nor to pass judgement.

In the year 1846, Pico being Governor, the Americans took possession of this country.

Frémont and his people were here two or three days and went to Los Angeles.

In this same year of 1846, events occurred in Los Angeles. Commodore Stockton arrived with a force at San Pedro and took the plaza without opposition. He remained a few days and left a guard under command of Gillespie, as he had left another at Santa Barbara, and one here. Gillespie was compelled by the Californians to abandon Los Angeles and return to San Pedro where he went aboard ship.

Captain Mervine<sup>81</sup> attempted to march with some sailors and marines on Los Angeles from San Pedro, but José Antonio Carrillo and his force obliged him to return to his boat with some loss.

Gillespie<sup>82</sup> came to San Diego and from here he was sent by Commodore Stockton with 35 or 40 men to join General Kearny. News had been received that Kearny was by San Felipe near Agua Caliente with a small force.

This news was learned through a man who got it from the Indians and brought it in. Gillespie joined Kearny at Santa María (The Stokes Ranch) and from there they went down to San Pasqual where they encountered a small force of Californians under command of Don Andrés Pico. Kearny was beaten, he himself and Gillespie wounded. He had two captains killed and many soldiers; thus as there were others wounded, he had to retire to the Cerro de las Piedras (Rock Hill) on this side of San Pasqual where the Californians tried to surround him. He continued fighting in retreat until reaching Los Penasquitos, <sup>83</sup> where his troops were no longer molested by the enemy.

It was said then that during those days of battle, Kearny and his men had to eat mule flesh, which is quite probable, because

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the California cavalry had cut off supplies. However, they succeeded in communicating with this port, and they were sent reinforcements, with whom they retreated to San Diego without difficulty.

A few days before this San Pasqual battle, eleven Californians were murdered by the Indians on this side of Agua Caliente in the Arroyo de los Alamos. They had retired there with their few belongings, in order not to take part in the war between the Americans and the inhabitants of the country. I believe the occurrence was in November.

The Indians took 12 from the house at Pauma ranch<sup>84</sup> (property of José Antonio Serrano)<sup>85</sup> took them to the Valle de San José.<sup>86</sup> Nearby is the place where they killed eleven, sparing the other because he was one of their Indians.<sup>87</sup>

The chief of these Indians who captured them was Manuel, who turned them over to Antonio Berras,<sup>88</sup> another Indian chief, captain of the Agua Caliente tribe. Manuel was captain of Pauma.

A certain Juan Garras (or Garra) and a Bill Marshall<sup>89</sup> had joined these Indians, and advised the Indians to kill these prisoners, telling them that General Kearny had authorized the Indians (who were complaining that they came with the intention of robbing) to kill those who would come. This was a falsehood, because General Kearny did not issue such authority, and disapproved the conduct of these Indians.

Juan Garras and Bill Marshall were some years later hanged here in San Diego for this and other crimes.

The names of the Californians who perished in that massacre were, Francisco Basualdo (artillery sergeant),<sup>90</sup> Ramon Aguilar,<sup>91</sup> Santos Alipáz,<sup>92</sup> Dominguez (the one called Dominguitos, already an old man),<sup>93</sup> Santiago Osuna,<sup>94</sup> José María Alvarado,<sup>95</sup> José López,<sup>96</sup> Manuel Serrano,<sup>97</sup> Eustaquio Ruiz,<sup>98</sup> Juan de las Cruz (of Lower California) and one whose name I do not remember.<sup>99</sup>

At the end of December, Commodore Stockton and General Kearny left here at the head of some 600 men, going towards Los Angeles. In El Paso de Bartolo and on Las Mesa, (the 8th and 9th of January, 1847) they fought engagements with Californians and won. The 10th they entered Los Angeles without further resistance, and a few days later Don Andrés Pico capitulated to Colonel Frémont at San Fernando. Since then this country has been under the flag of the States.

A brother of mine named Rafael Machado<sup>100</sup> was also with his little belongings at Pauma, with others, likewise managed to escape from the Indians (except the 12 of whom I have previously spoken).



My brother succeeded in reaching here some days before Kearny's entry. When he presented himself my mother went to the Commodore to obtain a safe-conduct for him. He gave her this without objections.

When Gillespie left to join Kearny, my brother went as guide and conducted him and his force to Santa María. Afterwards he remained with the American forces (without taking part in the fights) until they arrived in San Diego.

North San Diego

January 11, 1878

On January 26, 1878, at North San Diego, Thomas Savage added the following information as a part of the recollections:

José Antonio Serrano told me the ten names mentioned in Mrs. Ridington's statement. He also failed to remember the eleventh name though his wife (of that time) was present and was in the same difficulty. He told me that they had assembled there with their property with the intention of moving into Lower California, as they expected to get the privilege through Santiago E. Argüello, Pedronena and others, who were with the Americans, and were their personal friends, who would not injure them knowing that they wished to take no part in the war on one side or the other. They didn't know that the Indians had been won over to the Americans. Still, they had no reason to apprehend danger from any quarter where they were. The Indians were ordered to watch the frontier and were authorized to kill peaceful people. They were put to it by villains to take advantage of the troubles and confusion the country was in.

#### NOTES

1. *José Manuel Machado* was born at Los Angeles about 1756. He was a member of the presidial force at San Diego and later was regidor at San Diego. In 1836 he was in charge of the Rosario Rancho. He built in Old Town, between the years 1830 and 1835, four houses for his daughters as they married. He died on October 18, 1852, and was buried in Campo Santo, Old Town.  
Sources: Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, Volume III, pp. 612, 615, A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1884. *San Diego Union* Newspaper, February 21, 1943. 18:1
2. *Mariá Serafina Valdéz* was born about 1764 at Santa Barbara, California. She and José Manuel Machado had nine children by their marriage. These were Mariá Antonia, Jesus, Juan, Rafael, Mariá Guadalupe Gregoria (died in infancy), Mariá Guadalupe Yldefonsa, Rosa, José Arcadia and Juana. Mariá Serafina died March 12, 1861, and was buried in El Campo Santo (Cemetery) Old Town.  
Sources: Biographical files, Serra Museum, San Diego. Manuscript, R. Brandes, Unpublished.
3. *Dámasio Alipáz*, married Juana Machado on August 22, 1829, at the Presidio of San Diego. They were united by Padre Antonio Mendez. Dámasio had a colorful career and was a member of the revolutionary junta of fourteen men which began the revolt against Governor Victoria in November, 1831. Bandini says, "Dámasio and a brother Velizaro were members." Dámasio was killed in Sonora sometime in 1834 or 1835 but the circumstances are not known.  
Sources: Bancroft, Vol. III, p. 201  
Bandini, Juan (Ms), "*Historia de California*", Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California  
Smythe, William E., *History of San Diego, 1542-1908*, The History Company, San Diego, Vol. I, p. 162.
4. *Thomas Wrightington* married Juana Machado some five years after the death of

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her first husband. Wrightington is claimed as the first American settler in San Diego. He arrived in San Diego in 1883 on the ship "*Ayucuchó*" with Abel Stearns, coming from Fall River, Mass., where he had been a shoemaker. He served as a volunteer in the Mexican War, and was a member of Frémont's "Battalion of California Volunteers." By his marriage to Juana they had three children, Jose, Luis and Serafina. Thomas was baptized December 25, 1835, by Father Oliva at the San Diego Mission, probably prior to his marriage to Juana. On July 23, 1853, Wrightington, who had been ill for some time, had taken a trip in company with an Indian to Cockney Bill's Ranch and during the night, while camped, he wandered off. Two ranchers, Mr. Gual (Enos A. Wall) and a Mr. A. Vill (?), found him in a ravine belonging to the ranch of Santa Monica, commonly called El Cajon, where he had died. His body was found half devoured by coyotes. His remains were brought to the Mission San Diego where he was buried by neighbors, who aided with the rosary and other prayers, there being no priest present.

Sources: Smythe, Vol. I, p. 293

*San Diego Herald*, July 23, 1853, 3:3

Biographical files, Serra Museum, San Diego, see entry 64 made in the Mission San Diego records.

5. *Pala*, is a Luiseño word meaning water. In 1810 a granary was built at Pala under the direction of the San Luis Rey Mission. An Asistencia was established in 1815 by Father Antonio Peyri, also for Mission San Luis Rey. In 1827 the San Antonio de Pala had church dwellings and granaries with a few fields where wheat, corn, beans, garbanzos and other vegetables were grown. There was also a vineyard and an orchard of various fruits and olives, for which there was sufficient irrigation, the water being drawn from the stream which ran to the vicinity of the Mission. Pala was deserted in 1829. Its buildings were in ruin before 1836 and were almost demolished by a flood in 1916.

Sources: Englehardt, Fr. Zephyrin, *Mission San Luis Rey*, pp. 20, 51. The James H. Barry Co., San Francisco, 1921.

James, George Wharton, *In and Out of the Old Missions*, Little, Brown and Co., 1916, p. 289.

6. *Las Flores*, an Indian pueblo organized about 1823 as an ex-neophyte pueblo with a small population. In his report of December 31, 1823, Father Peyri reported that the Rancho de las Flores house and granaries had been constructed in the form of a patio and also that all the buildings were roofed with tile and that the place was known as San Pedro. Alfred Robinson, in 1829, described Las Flores as, "One of the cattle ranches of the San Luis Rey Mission," and that it "consisted of a few inferior gardens scattered around the little valleys, cultivated by Indians for their personal benefit, and in which they were allowed to labor when not required to give their time to the interests of the Missions." At Las Flores, the San Luis Rey Mission had a house, granaries and a chapel, which buildings formed a square of a large patio. Holy mass was offered in the chapel. In the patio, by means of water taken out of a pool near the sea, corn was raised. In the open, wheat and barley were raised in season. After secularization, the Indians were able to retain partial control of the rich mission rancho. J. A. Yorba applied for a lot 500 x 400 varas at Las Flores on one occasion, but the grant was refused as the land could not support more people than there were there already. In 1840 Pio Pico seems to have taken possession of Las Flores, (Los Picos ocupan la casa del padre y el mayor domo ocupa el corral). Then in 1841 Las Flores was granted to Pio and Andrés Pico, claimants. The Picos obtained the land based on the Alvarado grant and on assignment made by the Indians. The patent was issued to them March 28, 1879, although it had been confirmed on April 24, 1855, by the district court.

Sources: Englehardt, Fr. Zephyrin, *Mission San Luis Rey*, pp. 51, 52

Englehardt, Fr. Zephyrin, *Mission San Diego*, San Francisco, The James H. Barry Company, 1920, pp. 36, 254.

Bancroft, Volume IV, p. 621

*Pioneer Notes from the Diary of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875*, Privately Printed, Los Angeles, 1929.

7. *Temécula*, an Indian word for the "Rising Sun." Home of the Temécula Indians, granted in 1834 to Mission San Luis Rey and in 1844 to Felix Valdéz, Mexican Army officer. Temécula was later acquired by Luis Vignes, Los Angeles vintner. In prehistoric days, it was the site of the Luiseño Indians. The rancharia contained six square league, or 26,631.36 acres.

Sources: Gudde, Erwin G., *1,000 California Place Names*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947, p. 87.

*Notes on the Ranchos of San Diego County Central*, No. 1585, Kerr Collections, Serra Museum, San Diego.

8. *Lieutenant Colonel José María de Echeandía* came to California in November, 1825, where he was the Mexican Governor under Luis Antonio Argüello. Before



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coming to California, he had been a Lieutenant Colonel connected with a college of engineers in Mexico. He was appointed under the title of Comandante-general of the Californias by Victoria, the President of the Republic. As Governor, he made his headquarters at San Diego. He called a convention at San Diego of the electoral junta in order to choose a territorial deputation. It met on January 18, 1827. The entire population turned out; and afterwards, when the gubernatorial party set off with a military escort for Monterey, the people accompanied it a long distance on its journey. Echeandía was governor from October 31, 1825, to January 31, 1831, at which time he retired. He died before 1871.

It is interesting to note that at one time Echeandía all but robbed California of its name. He persuaded the Diputación to change it to "Montezuma." A coat of arms was planned to consist of an Indian, with plume, bow, and quiver, in the act of crossing a strait, all within an oval, having on the outside an olive and an oak in memory of the first peopling of the Americas, which according to the most common opinion was by the Strait of Anian. The act required the approval of the Mexican government which it never received and so it all came to nothing.

Sources: Hunt, Rockwell D., *California and the Californians*, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and New York, 1926, pp. 378, 383, 386, 392, 482, 488, 553.

Corle, Edwin, *Royal Highway*, Bobbs-Merrill Co., New York, 1949

Chapman, Charles E., *History of California*, New York 1921, (Rev. ed.) 1928, See Footnote, p. 460.

Smythe, pp. 168-169. Volume I.

9. *General José Figueroa* had been comandante-general of Sonora and Sinaloa, and in the spring of 1832, he was appointed a gobernador propietario to Alta California. He left La Paz on the "*Catalina*," arriving January 14, 1833, at Monterey after an adventurous trip. With the assumption of his duties, the San Diego office ceased to exist as the political headquarters of Upper California. Figueroa was "entitled to be called the founder of the ayuntamiento system of municipal government in the territory. There were a few ayuntamiento and municipal regulations before his time, as at Los Angeles, San Jose and a few other places; but he so greatly improved and perfected the system as to make it almost entirely his own. In August, 1834, at his instance, the diputacion passed several acts in reference to the subject. By one of these, it was ordered that a constitutional ayuntamiento should be established at San Diego and one at Santa Barbara, and that those at Los Angeles and Monterey should be increased by the addition of new officers."

Figueroa was Mexican by birth and had Aztec blood in his veins; had taken an active part in the revolution against Spain; exhibited ability of various kinds; and risen to be a general of brigade in the Mexican army. At an early period in the history of the republic, he had been Comandante-General of Sonora and thereby placed in intimate relation with California. Figueroa appears to have ruled well, and on August 29, 1835, after suffering some time in silence and in patience, he wrote asking to be relieved from his office. On September 29 of the same year he died.

Sources: Hittell Theodore H., *History of California*, San Francisco, 1885-1897, Volume II, pp. 160, 205.

10. *Lieutenant Colonel Nicolas Gutierrez*. In 1833, as a Spanish Captain, he came to California. He was promoted that same year to Lieutenant-Colonel. He was comisionado for the secularization of San Gabriel in 1834-1836; acting comandante-general, October 8, 1835, to January 2, 1836; and from that date gefe-political and comandante-general to May 3rd. He was military comandante in the south during Chico's rule; again governor and comandante-general on Chico's departure from September 6th to his overthrow by Alvarado on November 4, 1836. He was also in charge of the Mission at San Diego for awhile. Figueroa considered Gutierrez as one of his most able and reliable officers. Gutierrez was also at one time Comandante at Monterey. He was sent to San Blas by Figueroa another time on the ship "*Catalina*" to recruit more soldiers for California. He is described as having been easy-going, faithful, of ordinary abilities, but with not very strict morals. In accordance with the will of Figueroa, Gutierrez succeeded him as Governor ad-interim until a regular appointee could arrive. The rule of Gutierrez was accidental and lasted only four months with nothing of particular interest happening.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume IV, Register of Pioneers.

Hunt, Rockwell D., Volume I, pp. 518, 522, 553.

11. *Ignacio Martinez* came to California in 1800, a native of the city of Mexico. Born in 1774, he entered military service as cadet of the Santa Barbara company in 1799 and was promoted to alférez of the San Diego company from 1806. Also much of the time he was habilitado. In 1817, he was recommended for promotion to lieutenant of the Santa Barbara company; but by some error at Madrid or Mexico,

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the commission was made out for San Francisco and to San Francisco he had to go, much against his will. Described as not popular as an officer, haughty and despotic, he was several times reprovved and unfavorably criticized by his superior officers. He was elected a member of the territorial diputación on February 18, 1827, by the junta called together by Echeandía at the San Diego convention. His wife was Martina Arellanes.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume IV, Register of Pioneers.  
Biographical files, Serra Museum, San Diego.

12. *Martin, Cartucho and Agustin.* Bancroft says these three were wild Indians of Lower California. See also footnote 32 herein.

13. *Jacumba* is an Indian word meaning "hut by the water." The word Jacom appears in 1795; also referred to in 1841 as the "la sierra de Jacum." A Diegueno village by that name once stood at the spring. Jacumba is now located about 48 miles east of San Diego.

Sources: Gudde, Erwin G., p. 38.

Woodward, Arthur, *The Journal of Lt. Thomas W. Sweeny, 1849-1853*, Los Angeles, California, 1941, fn 124

14. *José Antonio Silvas* was married to María Antonio Machado, a daughter of José Manuel Machado and sister of Juana Machado. He was born at San Diego, December 16, 1810, son of Joseph Antonio Silvas and Maria Clara Canedo. Baptized at San Diego presidio Chapel, December 17, 1810, by Fr. Barona. His Godparents were Don Domingo Carrillo and Concepcion Pico.

Sources: Biographical files, Serra Museum, San Diego.

15. *Captain Hippolyte Bouchard* was a man who had served in the Buenos Aires Navy as sergeant-major, and he seemed to have exercised an iron rule over his men. In November, 1818, he came to California with two vessels which were fitted out in the Hawaiian Islands as privateers flying the flag of Buenos Aires. One of these ships, the "*Argentina*," carried a crew of 266 men with 28 guns. Bouchard was regarded in all respects by the Spaniards as a pirate. At Monterey, his invaders sacked and burned the town. Few buildings escaped and even the orchards and gardens were destroyed. They left Monterey on November 27, after hearing that the Ortegas of Santa Barbara had grown rich through smuggling. They made their next landing on December the 2nd, nine leagues west of Santa Barbara, anchoring off Refugio Beach which was the private port of the Ortega Rancho. Sergeant Carlos Carrillo, with thirty men, was awaiting in ambush, however, and lassoed three pirates, eventually hanging them. Enraged, Bouchard burned the Ortega home after looting it. After this, the ships headed towards San Juan Capistrano and the Mission. The Comandante at San Diego, hearing that they were headed for Capistrano, sent Lieutenant Santiago Argüello with thirty men to help defend the Mission. Bouchard arrived the following day and demanded supplies which Argüello refused to give him. Bouchard drew away without battle. At San Diego, it had been rumored that Bouchard would soon be there, so the women and children were sent to Pala, but the vessels passed the port without stopping.

Sources: Corle, Edwin

Hunt, Rockwell D., page 353.

16. *False Bay* now called Mission Bay. In September of 1542, when Cabrillo arrived in San Diego, he saw a good harbor and gave it the name of San Miguel. On this same day, he sent a small boat "farther into the port which was land-locked, large but good." This small party landed ashore to replenish the water supply. It was the landing on Point Loma, and the men followed the river channel until they found water for the ship. It was quite late in the day, and when they returned they chanced upon the shores of "False Bay" and looked vainly for the ships. The party camped that night and the next morning another party came from the ships and led them back. It is quite possible that San Diego and False Bay were at one time one body of water and that Point Loma was an island. The low land between Old San Diego and Point Loma bears every appearance of having been carried in by the river. At the time the Spanish settlement at Presidio Hill was made, the river was emptying into False Bay, and it continued to do so until the second decade of the nineteenth century. Exactly when it broke into San Diego Bay is a matter of dispute. Most probably about 1827 or 1828, according to residents of Old San Diego."

Sources: Smythe, pp. 28, 29, 694, Volumes I and II.

17. *Castilla at Fort Guijarros on Ballast Point.* A Spanish word meaning rounded or cobble stones. (Ballast Point or Fort Guijarros) This place is the modern day Ballast Point, a projection of land on the eastern side of Point Loma about a mile north of the tip of the high point. The name first appeared on the map of the



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harbor made in 1782 by Don Pantoja y Arriaga, when the Spanish vessels "*Princesa*" and "*Favorita*" were on this coast, charting bays and inlets and the Santa Barbara channel. It is mentioned in Captain Vincente Vila's Diary on May 1, 1769, wherein he states, "I succeeded in anchoring the *San Carlos* under the shelter of Point Guijarros." In 1773, Father F. Palou, in his report on the condition of the California Missions, says, "It (San Diego Mission) is situated about two gunshots from the beach, looking toward Point Guijarros and the mouth of the port." The construction of the castillo was suggested by Captain George Vancouver when he was at the port in 1793. Work on the building started in 1795, and it came into use in March, 1803, when the "*Lelia Byrd*," a Yankee ship here on a smuggling expedition, left the harbor under fire from the fort's thirteen guns. A road to connect Guijarros with the Presidio was effected in 1798. The name was changed to Ballast Point in American times when rounded stones taken here were used in the holds of vessels returning otherwise empty after leaving cargoes of Yankee goods in San Diego. It is said the old streets of Boston and other eastern cities were paved with cobble stones from Ballast. The guns from the fort were thrown into the bay when the Americans took possession in 1846, though two of them, *El Capital* mounted at Old Town Plaza and *El Jupiter* at Fort Stockton, were rescued by patriotic San Diegans. Also of interest is that an early Spanish beacon has been described as set up and annually tended whenever the Spanish speaking colonists at the Royal Presidio of San Diego and at nearby Mission San Diego de Alcalá expected the supply ship from San Blas. This seasonal fixture was simply a candle in a metal frame which swung from a pole thrust into the rocky beach near the anchorage — La Punta de los Guijarros.

Sources: Davidson, John, "*San Diego County Gazetteer*, San Diego Union.  
*San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, October, 1955, Volume I, No. 4., article entitled No. 355 by Winifred Davidson, page 48.  
 Englehardt, San Diego Mission, p. 176

18. *Corporal Juan María Osuna*, was born in California in 1785. A soldier and corporal of the San Diego company and later a settler. He took part in the revolution of 1831. A district elector in 1830, he was juez-de-paz in 1839, 1840, and 1846. He was San Diego's first alcalde in 1834, and in 1835 also the alcalde; was administrator of the San Diego Mission from 1840 to 1843. He was granted Rancho Santa Fe in 1840 to 1841 and was grantee of San Dieguito from 1836 to 1845. By his marriage to Juliana López, they had two sons, Leandro and Ramon and a daughter, Felipa. He died and was buried at El Campo Santo in Old Town in 1851. Of interest is a letter by Osuna on file at the Serra Museum listing damage done to private homes by the American forces in 1846. The letter written in Spanish is translated as follows: "In the year 1846, my house having been used as a military barracks during the occupation of the town of San Diego, I list the damages suffered by my house. "First an orchard next to the house with the chili and onion garden; a covered water-well, and its superstructure. All destroyed. The troops filled up the well. All of the wooden fence was chopped into kindling. The value of all of this is one hundred pesos. They tore down a section of the wall of the previous mentioned orchard to make a fortification, value \$32. Within the house they took from the pantry, 225 pounds of salt, 15 strings of chili, 12 strings of onions, and two containers of onions. The value of the salt, \$18; of the chilis, \$11.25; of the onions, \$24; and of the two containers, \$10; one table, \$7; the double doors of the cupboards, which were also changed into kindling, \$4; the boards of the closets, \$2; the large-sized adobe (blocks) which they destroyed, \$3; one dozen spoons, \$3; a pitcher, \$1; a night-pot, \$1; and two jars of lard, \$10. Signed Juan Ma. Osuna, February 15, 1847."

Sources: Bancroft, Volume IV, Pioneer Register  
 Hayes, Benjamin, Diary of  
 Hittell, Volume II, page 297

19. *Captain Don Pablo de la Portilla*. In response to an appeal from the Governor after the Bouchard affair, Viceroy Conde de Venadito sent 100 Mazatlan troops under Pablo de la Portilla and 100 from San Blas under José Antonio Navarrete to California. Sola also asked for money, arms, munitions, but none came, not a coin in money, no clothing, no muskets, only 400 worn-out sabers with wooden handles and no scabbards, not fit even for sickles. The troops from San Blas were recruited from prisons; convicts and incorrigible criminals. They had hardly landed before robberies, stabbings, murders and every sort of disorder arose to plague the unhappy governor. The troops of Portilla dwindled down to 81 men

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and were later ordered home by way of the Colorado under the command of Jose Romero.

Sources: Hunt, Rockwell D., Volume I, pp. 359, 488, 490, 505, 508, 520.

20. *Juan María Ibarra*, arrived in California in 1819. A Mexican Lieutenant of the escuadron de Mazatlan. Stationed at San Diego, 1821 to 1830, taking part in Indian expeditions and other affairs. In 1832 he was a prominent supporter of Zamorano and during 1833 to 1836 was comandante at Santa Barbara but was unwilling to submit to the new government and he left California in 1836. One of the earliest measures of the Zamorano government was to send an armed force south under Lieutenant Ibarra to defend Santa Barbara against attack by Echeandía. Ibarra pushed on to Los Angeles, then came rumors that Echeandía was about to attack him. As the story went, the Mission Indians, (who were devoted partisans of Echeandía) were flocking to his standard. Ibarra, decided, therefore, to retreat. On his way, he found a veritable enemy in his rear in the form of a number of armed convicts. These were captured and sent to Monterey. Ibarra has been described as a rough, coarse man of very dark complexion, but very energetic and brave. He had a wife in Sinaloa.

Sources: Bancroft Volume IV, p. 688

Chapman, p. 462

Smythe, pp. 119-120, Volume I

21. *Narcis (Narciso) Fabregat*, arrived in California in 1819. A Spanish lieutenant of the Mazatlan cavalry who served chiefly at Santa Barbara being often mentioned in the military annals down to 1830. In 1819 he was actually 57 years old. Suspended for a time in 1827-1828 on account of his Spanish birth, though he had taken the oath and gave no cause for suspicion. He retired from military service in 1833. By 1829, when he was 67 years old, he had been three times married, had a daughter in Sinaloa to whom he allowed one-third of his pay, and two small children by his last wife. He became a trader at Santa Barbara and in 1834 was grantee of the Cateria or Pozitas Rancho. Bancroft has no record after 1845 but thinks the old lieutenant was murdered by robbers soon after 1848.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume III, p. 735

22. *Ignacio Delgado* came to California in 1819. A Mexican alferéz of the Mazatlan company at Santa Barbara. Probably died or left California soon after 1827.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume II, page 778, Register of Pioneers.

23. *Señora Apolinaria Lorenzana* was a grand lady who came to California in 1800 as one of the foundlings sent from Mexico. The name given to her, as to all foundlings of that asylum, was that of the archbishop of Mexico. She lived in San Diego, San Luis Rey, and Santa Barbara. She remained unmarried, devoted her life to teaching and to charity. She was known as La Beata (Spanish for pious person or blessed). She was a very favorite godmother at baptisms. She was granted the Jamacha Rancho (along the Sweetwater Valley) in 1840, but she lost the property by means that she never clearly understood, according to Bancroft. Also she was grantee of Cañada de los Coches tract, in 1843, located west of Flinn Springs, San Diego County. In 1878 she lived at Santa Barbara, entirely blind, supported by friends and public aid. She planted the famous grapevine of Montecito long known as the largest in the world. For persons interested in this woman's life they are referred to a manuscript dictated by her on file in the Bancroft Library entitled: "Memorias de la Beata."

Sources: *The History of San Diego County Ranchos*, Union Title and Trust Company, San Diego, 1939, pp. 31, 42.

24. *Don Valentin Fernandez de San Vicente*, "A commissioner named by high authority in Mexico. He was sent by the supreme government to the country to make sure that the new authority sent by Mexico should be accepted and recognized and that no emissary of Spain would separate the country from its newly established government. An eminent churchman and canonigo or canon of the Durango cathedral. He was commended to the Californians as a representative of the regency. What he had come to do had been done before he arrived and what remained to be done was easily accomplished." Rev. Englehardt says, that, "the Supreme Government sent a commissioner in the person of Rev. Agustin Fernandez."

Sources: Englehardt, *Mission San Diego*, p. 202

Eldredge, Zoeth Skinner, ed., *History of California*, 5 Volumes, Century History Company, New York, 1915, p. 176.

25. *Captain Francisco María Ruiz*, born in Loreto, Lower California in 1754, son of Juan María Ruiz and Isabel Carrillo. He enlisted in the Army at Loreto in 1780 and soon came to California serving for awhile as sergeant of the Santa Barbara



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Company. He was made lieutenant in 1805 and captain in 1820. In 1806, he transferred to San Diego where he was made Comandante of the presidio until he returned in 1827. In 1824 he built the first house and planted the first orchard outside of the presidio walls at Old Town. In 1835 he deeded his Old Town house and garden to be held for three of Joaquin Carrillo's children of whom Ruiz was Godfather. Described by some as a perfect despot, and the soldiers called him loco. Never married, he died in 1839.

Sources: White, M., *California, All the Way Back to 1828*, Glenn Dawson Book Store, Los Angeles, Calif., 1956, Volume 32 p. 69.  
History of San Diego Ranchos, pp. 16, 17, 33.

26. *Jose Maria Estudillo*, called the founder of the Estudillo family in California. His wife was Gertrudis Horcasitas. He was military comandante in San Diego from October 23, 1820, to September, 1821, and from early 1827, to April 8, 1830. The junta held at Monterey, April 9, 1822, included Jose Maria Estudillo who represented Francisco Maria Ruiz, comandante of San Diego who was too ill to attend. Estudillo had served as an officer in the Monterey company, from 1806 to 1827 and then as Captain of the San Diego Company from 1827 to 1830, when he died. He built the house now called Ramona's Marriage Place in 1828. It was used by his family until 1887.

Sources: *American Guide Series, San Diego*, Works Project Administration Writers Project, 1937, pp. 75-76.  
History of San Diego Ranchos, p. 18.  
Smythe, pp. 169, 239, Volume I

27. *Change of Hair styles*. An interesting sidelight, insofar as the hair styles of the young boys are concerned, is that Hittell says, "one of the only changes of fashion in fifty years was brought about by Alvarado in 1820 when a mere lad of eleven. It had been the custom of both men and boys to wear the hair flowing over the shoulders and far down the back, and the future governor, as a youth, was dressed and combed by his fond mother in the height of the prevailing style. One day a soldier, who had just come from Mexico, with cropped hair, in a conversation with the lad, remarked that such long hair must be very troublesome and was certainly very useless for a man. Juanito answered that it had never occurred to him before; but, upon thinking of the subject there could be no doubt his locks gave endless care to his mother and a good of annoyance to himself; and he begged the soldier to shear him then and there. In a short time the locks were off; and the lad found the change convenient and pleasant; but his mother was horrified; and for a long time she considered her darling unrepresentable in respectable society. But Juanito persisted; and by degrees short hair for lads became the fashion of the country."

Sources: Hittell. p. 496.

28. *Lapel or Lappets*. A little lap or flap; a cotton fabric with imitation of embroidery on surface.
29. *Nankeen*. A sort of cotton cloth, usually of a yellow color. Originally manufactured and imported from Nankin in China. Trousers or breeches made of this material.
30. *Drill*. A fabric in which the threads are divided in a threefold way. A kind of coarse linen or cotton cloth.
31. *Vicuna*. A short, soft, silken fur used for making delicate fabrics from a South American animal of the camel family; closely related to the llama.
32. *The Indian revolt of 1837*. This is most ably summarized by Arthur Woodward who states, "Don Vicente Romero in testimony on the trial of the Cuyamaca Grant related that in the year 1837 at Don Pio Pico's ranch of Jamul (lying about 22 miles southeast of the San Diego Presidio) they (Indians of the San Diego Mountains as well as of the Colorado and certain parts of Baja California) murdered four white men and carried off two young girls.  
"This gave much alarm to the inhabitants of the pueblo and a military expedition was sent against them. I went upon this campaign.  
"The force consisted of eighteen regular soldiers and thirty friendly Indians under the noted chief Jatanil, the whole commanded by Alferez Macedonio who in those days had great repute as a fighter of Indians.  
"We started from Descanso about fifty miles below the pueblo of San Diego passing through Tecate, Las Juntas, Milquatay, Cuyamaca Valley, round the Valle de las Viejas, being out four months.  
"During this time we had several encounters with the Indians and killed many of them; but finally at a place known as Matadero in the Jacum Mountain, our

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ammunitions having fallen in the hands of the Indians by a surprise of the guard we abandoned our horses at night and returned to the presidio at San Diego.

"In this battle were Yumas from the Colorado as well as the Cuyamaca Indians."

Sources: Masterkey, September, 1934, *Notes on the Indians of San Diego County*, Arthur Woodward, pp. 140 to 150. Published by the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

33. *Jamul*. This place is mentioned as Jamol in 1776 and as Jamul in the 1820's. It is now located about 19 miles east of San Diego. An Indian word meaning "slimy water." Don Pio Pico, who became the last provincial governor of California under Mexico, obtained title to this ranch in 1829 with confirmation being made in 1831. During the years 1836 to 1838, it was in charge of his brother Andrés Pico. Early in 1837, the ranch was the scene of a disastrous Indian attack described in the manuscript and in footnote 32 herein. Pio Pico was given permission to occupy provisionally, "el parage llamado Jamul," the place called Jamul, on April 20, 1831. The rancho Jamul belonged in Mission days to the San Diego Mission. In January, 1829, the Mexican government had tried to claim these lands because, "The Mission doubtless prejudiced its rights to Jamul since, for the last 15 years, it had not made use of the said land."

Sources: Gudde, p. 38.

Hunsicker, Lena B., *San Diego County Place Names*, 3 volumes, On file. Serra Museum.

34. *Doña Eustaquia López*. The wife of José María Pico; a native of Sonora. She married Pico in 1789. Their sons were Andrés, José, Pico and they had seven daughters.

Sources: Smythe, pp. 173-174, Volume I

35. *José Antonio Carrillo*. The son of José Raimundo and brother of Domingo Antonio Ignacio. He was born at San Francisco, April 11, 1796. He was a teacher at San Diego in 1813 and afterward. At Los Angeles from 1827 to 1831, but having been exiled by Victoria, he became a leader in the movement against the governor at San Diego in 1831. Victoria, having conceived a violent prejudice against José Antonio, had banished him to Lower California. Carrillo deemed it prudent to go; and he found asylum with Father Felix Caballero. But Carrillo did not by any means remain quiet there, and before the end of the year he appeared in Alta California again; one of the factors in the movement which relieved the country of Victoria.

José was elected as one of the diputación provincial of Alta California at the Junta at Monterey on November 9, 1822. Later he became alcalde of Los Angeles; member of Deputación; member of Congress; and would, as first vocal of the Diputación, have been governor ad-interim in 1835 instead of Castro but was absent in Mexico in attendance upon Congress. He was lieutenant of militia under Castro, Comandante de escuadron, etc., and as second in command to Flores, defeated Mervine in the fight at the Dominguez rancho, October 8, 1846. He signed the Treaty of Cahuenga as Mexican Commissioner, ending the war in California.

Rancho was also patented to Forster, August 6, 1866.

Sources: *Westerners Brand Book*, Los Angeles Corral, 1947.

Cleland, Robert Glass, *Wilderness to Empire, A History of California, 1542-1900*, Alfred A.

Knopf, New York, 1944, pp. 118fn., 124, 233, 236.

Sanchez, Nellie Van de Grift, *Spanish Arcadia*, Powell Publ. Co., Los Angeles, 1929.

Cleland, Robert Glass, *Cattle on 1,000 Hills*, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1941.

Eldredge, pp. 211, 340, 450.

Smythe, p. 167, Volume I

Hittell, pp. 45, 129, 138-139

36. *John Forster* was born in England in 1815. He came to Guaymas in 1831 and two years later to California, settling in Los Angeles. In 1844 he moved to San Juan Capistrano and purchased the ex-mission lands where he lived for 20 years. On December 11, 1845, he was granted the National Rancho which he sold in 1854. In 1865 having already sold the latter place, he bought the Santa Margarita rancho from Pio Pico and serenely spent his remaining days there. He married Isadora, sister of Pio Pico and paid \$14,000, for the Santa Margarita Rancho. (In 1931 its value was \$6,800,000.) Forster and his family lived on the rancho for many years. Here he lived in baronial style, surrounded by a host of vaqueros and Indian servants. He allowed only Spanish to be spoken at the hacienda. He was on the Board of Supervisors at San Diego, 1871, 1872 and 1873. San Felipe Rancho was also patented to Forster, August 6, 1886.

Forster was for many years a man of great wealth and lived and entertained in generous style; but in later years his affairs became involved and he died com-



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- paratively poor. He died on the Santa Margarita Ranch, February 20, 1882, and his wife died a month later.  
Sources: Bonebrake, Percy L., "The Santa Margarita Rancho," (Los Angeles) Westerners Corral, *Branding Iron, History of the Ranchos of San Diego County*, pp. 33, 36, 37, 56, 64, 65.
37. *Mayordomo*. A steward, usually a white man, but sometimes an Indian would superintend a whole rancho.  
Source: Warren, Joseph, *A Tour of Duty in California*, S. Francis Company, New York, 1849, p. 100.
  38. *Juan Leiva*. Majordomo of Jamul near San Diego. He was killed by Indians in 1837 at Jamul. Born at San Diego Presidio about May 28, 1800. Baptized June 1, 1800, as recorded on Baptism record No. 3056. His father was Anastasio Leiva, leather jacket soldier and his mother was María de la Assumpcion Rosas. His grandparents were Leandro Duarte and María Francisco Briones.  
Sources: Baneroff, Volume IV, p. 711.  
Biographical files, Serra Museum
  39. *Carreta*. Bryant gives an excellent description of this means of transportation when he says it was, "The rudest specimen of a wheeled vehicle I have ever seen. Wheels are transverse sections of a log, usually about 2½ feet in diameter and varying in thickness from center to rim. Wheels coupled together by an axletree, into which a tongue is inserted. On the axletree and tongue rests a frame, constructed of square pieces of timber, 6 or 8 feet in length and 4 or 5 feet in breadth, into which are inserted a number of stakes about 4 feet in length. The framework being covered and floored with rawhides, the carriage is completed."  
Sources: *What I Saw in California*, Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana, California, 1936, pp. 294-295 (quoted from Edwin Bryant in 1846).
  40. *Jamacha Ranch*. A rancheria, Xamacha was mentioned in 1775; a land grant Jamacha is recorded in 1831. An Indian word meaning "wild squash or gourd." It was the site of a former Indian rancheria whence came Indians to raid the San Diego Mission in 1775. It was confirmed as a grant to Doña Apolinara Lorenzana on April 11, 1871. She had received the grant in 1840. Bancroft says, "she did not retain it through some legal hocus pocus which she never understood." Jamacha had some four thousand acres of land and is now located about 16 miles from the coast.  
Sources: *History of San Diego County Ranchos*, pp. 31, 32, 38, 42.  
RC San Diego County, Volume 3, Pamphlet No. 2, page 22, (See Index files San Diego Public Library)
  41. *Father Pascual Oliva Vicente*. He succeeded Father Sanchez at the San Diego Mission in the spring of 1820 and was the last missionary to occupy the mission until August, 1846. Oliva went first to San Luis Rey and then to San Juan Capistrano where he died in January, 1848. He is mentioned as opposed to the government in 1827. Smythe says his name was the first to appear in the records and that he left in 1847, succeeded by Father Holbein.  
Sources: Hittell, p. 87.  
Smythe, pp. 77, 537, Volumes I and II
  42. *Father Fernando Martin*. In 1812 he succeeded Father Panto who had died. Father Martin was a native of Robledillo, Spain, born May 26, 1770. A Franciscan, he arrived at San Diego, July 6, 1811. He was regarded as an exemplary friar. He was one of the few missionaries who took the oath of allegiance to Mexico. He died on October 18, 1838.  
Source: Smythe, p. 77, Volume I
  43. *Sergeant Macedonio Gonzalez*. A Mexican half-breed alferez on the Lower California frontier from about 1836. A famous Indian fighter, who took some part with the Sureños in the troubles of 1837-1840, once being arrested and sent to Sonoma. In later years he lived in Alta California and was in San Diego County often. A son of Terest Gonzalez, an alferez of the frontier company. He entered military service when a boy. He was taken and made a recruit when he was 12 or 14. He served 18 years under the Spanish and Mexican flags. He died in 1862 or 1863 at the Estudillo Rancho, San Jacinto, and was 105 to 107 years old.  
Sources: Bancroft, Volume III.  
White, pp. 66-69.  
Hittell, p. 265
  44. *Candelaria*. She was baptized February 2, 1857, as the legitimate daughter of José Ramon and Marta Pradoso, Indios. The Godparents were Don José Antonio Estudillo and María Lorenza Silvas. Candelaria married and had a son Joaquin and a daughter Vilesana. Candelaria died of tuberculosis and was buried at El Capital Grande. It is believed she had another daughter named Annita.  
Source: Davidson, Winifred, *Notes of 1936, Biographical Files, Serra Museum*.
  45. *Captain Henry D. Fitch*. A native of New Bedford, Massachusetts. In 1826 to 1830, he was master of the Mexican brig "*María Ester*," calling at California ports. In 1827, he announced his intention of becoming a Mexican citizen and was natur-

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—Courtesy Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego.

JUANA MACHADO IN THE PATIO OF THE HOME AT OLD TOWN

*This is the home to which General Kearny took his wounded after the Battle of San Pasqual. Juana acted as a nurse attending the men.*



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*—Courtesy Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego.*

JUANA MACHADO (FAR LEFT) WITH A GROUP OF PEOPLE IN FRONT OF  
THE AMERICAN HOTEL

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alized in 1833. He was baptized in 1829 as Enrique Domingo Fitch. His elopement with Señiorita Josefa Carrillo is romantically famous in California history. He had a general store in Old Town for many years, and in 1845 his was the only store in the place. He held public offices in San Diego, and in 1845 he made the first survey and map of the pueblo lands. In 1841, received a grant of the Sotoyomi Rancho in Sonoma County. Some of the property he owned jointly with Henry Virmont (Virmond), who was a wealthy shipping man from Lima and who was the owner of the "*Maria Ester*." Captain and Mrs. Fitch had eleven children. He died in San Diego in 1848, at the age of 49, and was the last person buried on Presidio Hill.

Sources: Hunt, pp. 415, 417, 432 in Vol. I.  
Smythe, pp. 124, 127, Volume I.

46. *Doña Josefa Carrillo*. Daughter of Joaquin Carrillo and Maria Ygnacia López. Born at San Diego on November 27, 1810, baptized in the San Diego presidio Church by Father Pedro Panto. Her Godparents were Mariano Mercado and Josefa Sal.

Source: Biographical files, Serra Museum.

47. *Juan Maria Marron*. A sea captain, first resided at San Diego in 1821. He married Felipa Osuna. Was granted Agua Hedondia Rancho in 1842. Juan Maria died at a daughter's home on September 19, 1853.

Sources: *San Diego Herald* Newspaper, September 24, 1853  
*San Diego Mission Registry* No. 45.  
*History of San Diego County Ranchos*, p. 38.

48. *John Stewart*. A shipmate of Henry Dana. Married Rosa Machado, sister of Juana. Stewart was one of the settlers in 1838, having been second mate of the ship "*Alert*." He was also a pilot and commonly called "*El Pilato*." He served in the Mexican War with the Fitzgerald Volunteers. Born September 2, 1811, and died February 2, 1892.

Sources: Smythe, pp. 289-290.

49. Another version is that, "Doña Guadalupe Alvarado overheard the cooks in earnest conversation in the Indian language which she understood . . . All the Indian cooks from the different families had gathered in the kitchen of the house and were discussing a plan of attack upon the town by members of their tribe.

"Sufficient discussion was understood so that on relaying the plans to Don Pio Pico and Don Andrés Pico, visitors at the house, the Picos gave the information their immediate attention. During the night the people at San Diego organized a company of citizens and arranged that at daylight each house was to be visited and each cook taken prisoner. This done as each of the conspirators came out of the house in the early morning he was lassoed, and all were taken a little distance from town where it was proposed to shoot them. Each expressed a desire to be allowed to die as Christians to confess to the priest and to receive the sacrament. Each request was granted. A trench was dug and the Indians made to kneel close beside it. Then on being shot, each fell into the ditch where he was buried. Eight or ten were executed at this time. The following day the citizens went out in force, found and surprised the rest of the Indians, engaged them in battle; and numbers of them were killed."

Source: Davis, William Heath, *Sixty Years in California*, The Leary Company, San Francisco, 1889.

50. *Juan Salazar*. Comandante of the guard at San Fernando 1823. In the years 1827 to 1830, acting habilitado at Santa Barbara and San Diego. Sometime between 1831 and 1834 he was promoted from Sergeant to Alferéz, and was once a prisoner during the sectional wars in 1837. He was acting commander of San Diego and is mentioned in records as late as 1846.

Sources: Bancroft, Vol. II, pp. 543, 570, 572; III, pp. 114, 482, 503-4, 541, 608-10; IV, p. 617; V, p. 566

51. *Juan Machado*. The son of José Manuel Machado and brother of Juana. While Juan had a colorful life, it appears that the main recorded incidents are confined to newspaper articles such as: "Candidate for Justice of the Peace at San Luis Rey and Temecula precincts, received 59 votes." "Granted tract called Sierra Nunca Vista by Governor Castro of Baja California with a description taken from Moreno's report to the Mexican Government in 1861. Machado is from Descanso." "Horse races held at his place in Lower California, Descanso Rancho, last Sunday." "Rey de la Frontera was in town during the week." "Now living in Descanso, Lower California; was living in Mission Valley at the time of the big flood in 1821; his place was near first date palm tree," and "An old resident of Old Town



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but now of Descanso, Lower California, was here during the week; had some fine rubies found near the Japa mines."

Sources: *San Diego Herald*, September 4, 1858, 2:1

*San Diego Weekly*, July 7, 1870, 1:4

*San Diego Union*, June 28, 1874, 3:2

*San Diego Union* (Old Town Items), November 16, 1873, 3:2

*San Diego Union*, September 9, 1874, 3:3 (Letter to the Union)

*San Diego Union*, October 4, 1874, (Old Town Items), 3:4

52. **Juan Rocha.** A Mexican lieutenant who came with Echeandia in 1825, under sentence of banishment from Mexico for two years. A principal official in charge of the Monterey presidio, and he was one of those seized on the night of November 12, 1829, by Solis and a party of soldiers who had risen. In 1831 he was a sub-lieutenant; he joined the Pico, Bandini, Carrillo revolt of 1831. Was put in command of the Monterey detachment of the San Blas compound and is often named in the records of later years, being comisionado for the secularization of San Juan Capistrano in 1833-1834. In charge at San Gabriel, 1836-1837, and acting comandante of the southern force during the sectional war of 1837. He married Elena Dominguez, and they had a son Manuel at San Diego in 1854. Juan died at San Diego, date not recorded.

An interesting event took place at San Diego when, on the arrival of the Hija colony, a ball was given in their honor by José Antonio Aguirre and then another by Juan Rocha. After Californians had danced their songs, and other old ambles, the new-comers performed the more modern movements in vogue at the capital. For the first time, the waltzes, the quadrille and the contradanza were made known to the people of California.

Sources: Bancroft, "*California Pastoral*," Volume 34, p. 426

Hittell, pp. 108-109

Smythe, p. 175, Volume I

53. **Lieutenant Agustín V. Zamorano.** A native of Florida, his parents being Spaniards. He received a good education and entered the army, May 1, 1821, as a cadet. After service in Mexico, he came to California in 1825 with Echeandia, and served as the governor's secretary for five years. In February 1827, he married Maria Luisa, daughter of Santiago Argüello. In 1827-1828, he was a district elector for San Diego, candidate for Congress in 1830, and in 1831 was made Captain of the Monterey Company. Secretary to Figueroa from 1833 to 1835. Proclaimed commander general and governor ad-interim in 1837, and divided the jurisdiction of the territory with Echeandia for a time. He passed away in 1842 in San Diego. He and his wife had seven children.

Sources: Eldridge, pp. 214, 215, 255, 355, 412.

Hittell, pp. 89, 112, 149-153.

Smythe, pp. 120, 177, Volume I

54. **Captain Santiago Argüello.** The son of Jose D. Argüello, born at Monterey, 1791. He was paymaster at San Diego in 1818, and in 1821 had probably the first garden in Mission Valley. In 1827 to 1831, he was lieutenant of the San Diego Company and Comandante from April 8, 1830, to 1835. From 1831 to 1835, he was Captain of the company and took part in the revolt against Victoria. During 1833-1834, he was revenue officer at San Diego. In 1836, he was alcalde. During the Mexican war, he was friendly to the Americans and gave them considerable aid. Soldiers were quartered at his house, and he held a commission as Captain in the California Battalion. He was a member of the Legislative Council in 1847 and made collector of the port. In 1829, he was granted the Tia Juana Rancho, in 1841, the Trabujo, on September 2, 1845, he was granted the Melijo Rancho and in 1846, the San Diego Mission lands. He was married to Pilar Ortega, daughter of Francisco Ortega of Santa Barbara, by whom he had 22 children. He died on his Tia Juana ranch in 1862, and his widow died in 1878.

Sources: Hittell, p. 123.

History of the San Diego County Ranchos, pp. 25, 59, 62, 63.

Smythe, pp. 163, 204, Volume I

55. **Don Luis Antonio Argüello.** The second Mexican Governor of Alta California was the son of Jose Dario Argüello. He was born at the presidio of San Francisco where his father was the ensign, in 1784. Though his opportunities for an education were extremely limited, he turned such as he had to good account and very early exhibited indications of intelligence, energy and trustworthiness. In September, 1799, at the age of 16 years, he entered the military service as a cadet in the cavalry company at San Francisco; in 1800, became an ensign and in 1806, a teniente. Soon after his promotion to the latter rank, he became, on account of removal of his father to Santa Barbara, comandante of San Francisco in his father's place. In 1817, he was promoted to Captain and with that rank

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continued comandante of San Francisco down to the time he became Governor. In November, 1822, Argüello became president of the provincial diputación and temporary governor of Alta California, and he was obliged to move from San Francisco to Monterey. The old soldiers of the former place, among whom he had grown up and with whom he was very popular, were loath to part with him; and it was not without tears that they saw him move from his household. He, too, was affected; but he had no time for sentiment. Echeandía, the new Governor of both the Californias, arrived at Loreto on June 22, 1825, and at San Diego some 4 months afterwards. He wrote for Argüello to meet him at the place, and the latter, upon receiving the letter, immediately sailed from Monterey in obedience to the summons. As soon as Argüello reached San Diego, which was near the end of October, he delivered the government over to Echeandía and soon returned to Monterey. About the beginning of 1826, he returned to San Francisco and resumed his former office of Comandante of that place. "Argüello became involved in some difficulties, usually matters of which he was not the direct cause, and continual worry about problems which affected his health induced an excessive use of intoxicating liquor. The result was that he soon became unfit for his office of Comandante. On March 27, 1830, at the age of 46 years, he died, and his body was buried in the church-yard of the Mission Dolores."

Sources: Hittell, pp. 44, 45, 51, 80.

56. *Joaquin Solís*. When the Mexican war-brig "Morelos" arrived at Monterey in July, 1825, there came Joaquin Solís, a restless and unruly character, who had been sentenced for his offenses in Mexico to a banishment for ten years. The first overt act of the rebellion took place at Monterey on the night of November 12, 1829, when Solís and a party of soldiers confederated with him rose and seized the principal officials in charge of the presidio. The rebellion had been instigated by José María Herrera who had been removed from office. Solís was quite active up and down the coast, but a short time later on April 1, 1830, he and others, including Herrera, were placed on trial and on May 7th, were convicted and sentenced to be placed on board the American bark "*Volunteer*," then in port, taken to San Blas and there placed at the disposition of the supreme government of Mexico.

Sources: Hittell, pp. 108-115.

Smythe, p. 117, Volume I

57. *Don José Fernandez del Campo*. Arrived in California in 1828. A Mexican lieutenant in command of California artillery station at Monterey. Arrested by the insurgents in 1829. He died in 1831.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume III.

58. *Manuel Casarin Jimeno*. Arrived in 1828 in California. A native of Mexico and brother of the Friars Jimeno. Sub-comisaro and contador in the Monterey custom-house during 1828-1830. In 1832, was sindaco of the Monterey ayuntamiento; in 1834 alcalde and grantee of Salsipudes. In 1835, member of the diputación and comisionado of the secularization of San Luis Obispo Mission. In 1837, vocal again. In 1839-1842, was Alvarado's secretary of state, besides being first vocal and often acting Governor during Alvarado's illnesses; grantee of Santa Rosa, Santa Barbara County in 1839. Under Micheltorena he continued to serve as secretary in 1843-1845. Grantee of Santa Paula in 1843 and the Jimeno Rancho, Colusa County in 1844. In the troubles of 1845 to 1847, he seems to have taken no active part, but in those and later years he gave his attention to his private business. He went to Mexico in 1853 and died there in December of that year.

He is described as having been small and lean in physique, vivacious and witty. His wife was Doña Angustias de la Guerra. They had eleven children. Bancroft says he played the Pioneer Piano.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume IV, Volume XXXIV, p. 427.

59. *Fijo de Hidalgo*. This body of men was spoken of as the permanent picket of the second battalion and consisted of "one sergeant, three trumpeters, three drummers, one corporal of fusileers, one corporal of artillery, nine grenadiers and chasseurs, and 16 fusileers, 34 in all." The Fijo de Hidalgo, "permanent somebodies," seems to have brought martial music to San Diego, already rather famous for its home-taught violinists and guitarists. While its commander, Patricio Estrada, did not remain long in California, there were other officers arriving with Echeandía whose names are fixtures in the state's history.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume III, p. 13.

Davidson, Winifred, *San Diego Union Newspaper* article entitled *Romance of Old San Diego*, October 31, 1943.

60. *Laguna de Chapala*. I have reviewed and searched a great many maps and docu-



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ments, failing to find said Laguna Chapala. I feel that here the good Doña Juana may be mistaken in the location or the name of the lake. The only known Laguna de Chapala is in the state of Jalisco some 24 miles south of Guadalajara. There was a prison on a small island of Mescala in Lake Chapala, which was established during the early part of the 19th century. There were some 1200 criminals there during the 1830's and 1840's but this seems too far off, and the circumstances of the expedition would not fit in with this Laguna Chapala. My feeling is that she is mistaken as to the name of the Laguna as she clearly indicates that the troops left from San Diego and went towards the Rio Colorado. There is also a "Laguna Seca Chapala" located between the present towns of El Marmol and Punta Prieta in Baja California. Neither does this location fit the direction.

Source: Mofras, Duflot de, *Travels on the Pacific Coast*, edited and translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, The Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana, California, 1937, Volume I, page 83.

61. *Don José María Avila*. Among the Angelenos was this one of a different temper, a dare-devil by the name of José María Avila. A native of Sinaloa, Avila had been a wild and reckless fellow in his youth but was dashing and popular and noted for his skill in horsemanship. He commanded the rebels, met Pacheco at the Los Angeles River.

Source: Hunt, pp. 489-49.

62. *Romualdo Pacheco*. On Victoria's side, clearly saw at the approach of Portilla and his troops that there was little or no prospect of success with only 30 men against 200 and those old champions in the arms of Portilla. He, therefore, urged Victoria to retire to San Fernando and gather reinforcements before trying to cope with the opposing army. Victoria indicated to all that Pacheco was afraid, and insisted on going on. Pacheco placed himself at the head of his little column to show his lack of fear and was the first to advance. Pacheco soon ordered a charge and went forward to meet José María Avila of the Portilla party. Both were mounted on good horses. Pacheco made a stroke at Avila with his sword; Avila carried a pike with a bayonet fastened on the end, with which he warded off the blow and then drawing a pistol, shot Pacheco in the heart and killed him. Captain Avila, surprised at what he had done, hesitated and Governor Victoria shot him dead. This enraged Captain Portilla of the rebels, and he charged the Governor Victoria with his lance and ran him full through the face with it, tearing a goodly portion of the governor's features. Victoria's wounds were not fatal; they were severe enough to compel him to abandon the field and retire to San Gabriel, where he was attended, some say by Joseph Chapman, an amateur surgeon, and others by Dr. Charles Anderson. Pacheco had come to California in 1825, a Mexican sub-lieutenant in the engineers, a native of Guanajuato, with Echeandia, as aide-de-camp. He served in this capacity for two years; then as secretary of the com-general during 1826-1827 at San Diego, making several expeditions to the Colorado River. Brave and skilled, intelligent, courteous, he was popular and of unblemished character. He had married Ramona Carrillo of San Diego in 1829.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume V.

Hittell, pp. 89, 110, 140.

63. *Ayuntamiento*. Municipal councils or town councils.
64. *Governor Manuel Victoria*. In December, 1830, Victoria replaced José María de Echeandia; considered to have been dictatorial. He took office in February, 1831. He opposed secularization of the missions, ordered the death penalty for small misdemeanors, and refused to convoke the Diputación or to give the Californios more voice in their affairs. He went back to Mexico sometime after 1831, after the Californians fought at Cahuenga Pass. He also quarreled with many prominent men and sent a number of men into exile. Bandini says, "I recollect the sad and painful spectacle which a few days ago was presented by the execution of some unfortunates without the customary council of which is ordered for such cases by the decree of the national government of September 27, 1823." He further says, "Victoria trampled the laws under foot and acted the part of a despot."

Sources: Bandini, Juan, *MS Historia de California*, Bancroft Collection, University of California.

Smythe, pp. 118, 119.

65. *Juan Bandini*. The family name is of Italian origin. Juan was born in Lima in 1800; received his education there. His father came to California in 1819-21, and he probably came at that time with him. Juan was noted for his gentlemanly manners and his most beautiful daughters. Only a very small portion of his activities can be mentioned here because they were so varied and of such consequence. He vied in politics, held a number of offices, and took part in some important political uprisings.

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Juan favored the Americans in the California War and offered his house to Commodore Stockton in the years 1846 to 1847. It was here that Kit Carson found him when he brought General Kearny's plea for aid from the San Pasqual battlefield.

In November of 1831, Abel Stearns, a naturalized Mexican citizen and José Antonio Carrillo, both of whom were among the men banished by Victoria, but neither having gone farther than the frontier, secretly met in San Diego with Juan Bandini and Pio Pico, and laid plans for a revolt. Pico, Bandini, and Carrillo set out with fourteen men besides themselves, seventeen in all, to seize the post. Bandini went to the house of Captain Argüello, where he found that officer and Lieutenant Valle playing cards. He presented his apologies first and then presented a pair of pistols, and marched the two officers off to prison, where they found that Comandante Portilla had preceded them. The troops gave no trouble. Echeandía was persuaded to head the movement, and soon all San Diego parties were agreed to make it unanimous. A long pronunciamiento was drawn up, which Juan Bandini is credited with having written. A force was mustered and marched northward and soon took possession of Los Angeles.

The Governor had left Monterey before learning of the revolt and even upon his arrival at Santa Barbara seems to have received no accurate information of the nature and extent of the trouble. He started for Los Angeles with about thirty men, full of confidence in his ability to restore order without delay, and spent the night at the San Fernando Mission. Next day, the 6th of December, Portilla moved out towards Cahuenga with about 200 men, and was met by Victoria with his little band of thirty. A war of words ensued, followed by a brief conflict in which two men were killed, and then Echeandía's men fled.

Juan's first wife was Dolores, daughter of Captain José M. Estudillo and they had four children. His second wife was Refugia, daughter of Santiago Argüello and they had five children. Juan died at Los Angeles in November of 1859.

Sources: Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, pp. 282, 438.  
Smythe, pp. 119, 125, 127, 164, Volume I

66. *Natalia*. On the first of September, 1834, the brig "*Natalia*" arrived at San Diego having on board Juan Bandini and Señor Híjar with a portion of the political colony sent by the Vice-President of the Mexican Republic, Gomez Farias. Bandini had gone south in May, in time to fall in with the plans of Farias and Híjar. The "*Natalia*" is said to have been the vessel in which Napoleon made his escape from the Island of Elba. She was afterwards wrecked by being driven on the beach at Monterey in a storm on December 21, 1834. Nevertheless, the enterprise of Bandini, Híjar, and Farias did not pan out. The "*Natalia*" also bore the name of "*L'Inconstant*" at one time.

Sources: Eldredge, p. 234.  
Smythe, p. 122, Volume I

67. *José María Híjar*. The enterprise and capital of Híjar, a man of high standing and influence, helped the colonization plan gain momentum. With his support and the encouragement of the government, of which Farias was the active head, the plan was perhaps finally secured by the aid of Juan Bandini. Híjar was appointed director of colonization and civil governor to succeed Figueroa, while Padres was to be assistant inspector, the position he formerly held. Padres and Híjar formed a company which may have had no capital but their expectations of profit from transporting the colonists to their destination. The colonists gathered at San Blas in July, 1834, and their two ships, the "*Natalia*" and the "*Morelos*" set sail. The "*Natalia*" with Híjar and his party of colonists, though bound for Monterey, put in at San Diego on September 1st where all disembarked. The brig "*Natalia*" arrived at San Diego on September 1st, having on board Juan Bandini and a portion of the political colony sent by the Vice-President of the republic, Gomez Farias. The failure of the enterprise is a matter of history. The passengers in Híjar's colony numbered between 130 and 140 and were sheltered in the hide houses at La Playa for two days. Some of them were finally shipped back to Mexico but some settled and remained at San Luis Rey and places further north. From San Diego, prospective colonists made their way in straggling parties from Mission to Mission, until they reached the capital with Híjar seizing the opportunity, as he went along, to tell the neophytes that he had come to liberate them. Padres, and the rest of the party on the ship "*Morelos*," went directly to Monterey where they arrived on September 25th. The "*Natalia*" came up from San Diego late in December with the luggage of the Híjar party, and on the evening of the



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21st, she was driven on to the west shore of Monterey Bay by a violent gale, and wrecked.

Sources: History of San Diego County Ranches, p. 49.

Eldredge, pp. 229, 240 to 250.

Smythe, p. 121, Volume I

68. *Huisache*. Old La Playa about where the quarantine station stands.

Source: Notes, Serra Museum, Winifred Davidson files.

69. *Colonel Mariano Chico*. "On December 16, 1835, almost immediately after the supreme government had received information about Figueroa's death, it appointed a new "gobernador propietario" in the person of Colonel Mariano Chico, and Gutierrez merely held until his arrival. There seems to have been many applicants at the Mexican capital for Figueroa's place, but the choice fell to Chico. He arrived at Santa Barbara in April, 1836. He proceeded to Monterey on May 1, where on May 3, he took the oath of office, styling himself colonel, representative of the nation, comandante-general and political chief, and setting forth that the president of the republic, on account of high regard and judging himself to be the best man suited for the place, had called him from his seat in Congress and confided to him the honorable employment with which he had been invested. He pleaded much sorrow on having to leave Mexico, deplored leaving his family. A unique way of introducing himself to the inhabitants of the country. His first mistake was to denounce those who had taken part against Victoria, proclaiming Victoria as a friend of his. He indicated he would seek out and mete justice to those who had done this to Victoria. He, of course, immediately became unpopular and everything he did from that day on became a means of heightening the ill-will towards him. No one would help him in any way, and soon it became necessary for him to leave Alta California. He left on July 30, 1836, on the "*Clementina*." This was Colonel Mariano Chico, a member of the national congress, and a man of education, though of violent temper, weak judgement and not very high character. During the three months that he remained in California, he did little but issue high-sounding proclamations, bluster, threaten, and bluster." Alfred Robinson stated, "prejudiced against many Californians and violently incensed at foreigners, Chico commenced a tyranny that soon brought him into disgrace and finally ended in expulsion."

Sources: Hunt, Volume I, pp. 418, 519, 553.

Eldredge, p. 341.

Hittell, p. 217.

70. *Territorial Diputacion*. An assembly.

71. *Juan Bautista Alvarado*. He was born in 1790. From 1830-1831, he was first regidor at Los Angeles; 1835, first regidor at San Diego, 1836, Comisario de Policia. The present site of Escondido (then called Rincon del Diablo) was granted in 1843 to Alvarado who was a member of a well known family.

His daughter, Maria Antonio, was married first to Captain Joseph F. Snook, and she later married Henry Clayton after the death of Snook. After her marriage to Captain Snook, Maria Antonio's two younger sisters resided with her a part of the time, and one of them acquired a considerable knowledge of the Indian language.

Source: History of the San Diego County Ranches, pp. 41, 42, 43.

72. *Carlos Antonio de Jesus Carrillo*. The son of José Raimundo. Born at Santa Barbara in 1783, a soldier in Monterey Company from 1797 and soldado distinguido from 1799. Designated as a clerk in a murder trial in 1806. Sergeant of the Santa Barbara company from 1811 to 1825, taking part in the defensive operations against Bouchard in 1818 and the Indian rebellion of 1824. He quit the military service and was partido elector in 1827 and a member of diputacion in 1828. In 1830, elected member of Congress for the years 1831-1832. Member of diputacion in 1834-1835. In 1837, his brother obtained for him in Mexico an appointment as Governor, and Don Carlos, making Los Angeles his capital, strove not too well in 1837-1838 to assume the governorship which Alvarado very properly refused to surrender. This interesting but ridiculous episode is recorded with its military campaigns in Bancroft, Volumes III and IV. His wife was Josefa Castro. They had three sons and five daughters.

Sources: Bancroft, Volumes III and IV.

Smythe, p. 167, Volume I

Cleland, *Cattle on 1,000 Hills*

73. *Gil Ibarra*. Sindico of Los Angeles in 1831 and from 1836-1837, he was alcalde of Los Angeles and prominent as a partisan of the south against Alvarado's government in 1837-1838, being arrested more than once by the Nortenos. He was grantee of Rincon de la Brea in 1841. He still resided in Los Angeles in 1848.

Source: Bancroft, Volume IV, p. 688

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74. *Mariano G. Vallejo*. Born in Monterey, July 7, 1808. His father, Ignacio, held a military command under the crown of Spain and later under Mexico. At 16, he was an officer in the army and the private secretary of the Governor of California. In 1829, he became Lieutenant Commander of the Northern Department. In the rebellion at Monterey on the night of November 12, 1829, Vallejo was one of those taken prisoner at the presidio and thrown into prison. Elected October 3, 1830, to the electoral college. On January 10, 1832, he met at Los Angeles as a *vocale propietario* or regular member of the diputacion. In 1840, he was a Lieutenant-General. He died at Sonoma, January 18, 1890.

Sources: Century Magazine, article entitled, "Pioneer Spanish Families in California," Vol. XLI, New Series Vol. XIX, p. 377, by C. H. Shinn.  
Eldredge, p. 239.  
Hittell, pp. 108, 117, 122, 137, 143, 664.

75. *Bartolo or the Los Pastores*. Alfred Robinson narrates very well in giving his description of the dramatic play of the Shepherds performed on one occasion at San Diego. "Those who were to take part in the performance rehearsed night after night until at length Christmas Eve arrived. At an early hour, illuminations commenced; fire-works were ignited; the church bells rang, and the pathways leading to the presidio church were enlivened with crowds hurrying to prayer and devotion. At midnight a solemn mass was celebrated. At its conclusion the priest who officiated, produced a small image representing the infant Savior, which he held in his hands for all to approach and kiss. After this, at the sound of a guitar on the outside, the body of the church was cleared and in a few minutes afterwards the procession of performers entered, dressed in appropriate costumes and bearing banners. They consisted of six females, three men and a boy. The females represented shepherdesses; one of the men, Lucifer; one a hermit; the third Bartolo, a lazy vagabond and the boy, the Archangel Gabriel. The performance commenced with the archangel's appearance as the shepherdesses set out; but Lucifer endeavored to prevent the prosecution of their journey. His influence and temptations were about to succeed, when the archangel appeared again; and a long dialogue took place, in which the hermit and Bartolo played respectively prominent parts; and the whole play ended with the frustration and submission of the arch-fiend. The play was interspersed with moral and religious teachings, with music and songs, with farce and buffonery; and a medley was thus presented in which every spectator found something to his taste. For several days the spectacle was repeated at the principal houses, at each of which the performers were entertained with presents and refreshments; and as they passed from house to house through the streets, they were followed by a crowd, particularly of boys, who were enraptured with the comicalities of Bartolo and the hermit and enjoyed enthusiastically what seemed to them so splendid and glorious a sight."

Source: Robinson, Alfred, *Life in California*, p. 43.

76. *Felipe Osuna de Marron*. Born at San Diego in 1809. Daughter of Juan Maria Osuna and Julian López; had two brothers, Leandro and Ramon. Wife of Juan Maria Marron; had a daughter, Maria Luz, and a son, Sylvester. Agua Hedonidia Rancho was granted to her and her husband in 1842. One of their several children married José Rubio of Los Angeles and had 25 children, dying at the age of 107.

Sources: Ranchos of San Diego County, pp. 21, 38.

77. *Jose Castro*. Born in Monterey in 1808; died in Lower California in 1860. He was a member and president of the Diputacion; acting governor of California; comandante-general; was in command at the time of the American conquest. He also held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Mexican army. His wife was Modesta, daughter of José Antonio Castro. After the occupation of California by the United States, Castro fled to Sonora where he then reached Tepic by way of Mazatlan but returning in 1848 to live at Monterey and at San Juan Bautista until 1853. He returned to Mexico and was made political chief of the Lower California frontier in 1856. He was killed in a quarrel by Manuel Marquez on April 14, 1860.

Sources: Eldredge, pp. 262, 339.  
Hayes, Benjamin, *Diary*, p. 159.

78. *Joaquin Ortega*. Son of José María Ortega and grandson of José Francisco Ortega who came to California with Serra and Portolo. Served as Mayordomo and administrator of San Diego Mission from 1835 to 1850 and of San Luis Rey Mission from 1843 to 1845; also was justice, elector and alternate member of assembly. An interesting sidelight is that on February 4, 1831, Victoria refused a petition of said Joaquin Ortega who desired to attempt a business of hunting otters and



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for that purpose to employ certain boats, expressly built for that kind of service, and their foreign owners. Victoria was trying to place restrictions upon the fur trade that was carried on by foreigners without profit to the government or advantage to the people.

Source: Hittell, pp. 122, 123, 134.

79. *Manuel Micheltorena*. Arrived with an army of convict soldiers in August 1842. He was the last of the Mexican Governors. He stayed in the province for three years. Driven out of California under Castro and Alvarado in March 1845. Some 15 months before the Americans took command at Monterey, he was Brigadier-General of the Mexican Army and Governor of California from 1842-1845. He was in the main, a well meaning ruler, and his courtesy and friendly attitude towards foreigners, to whom he made many grants of land, made him very popular with them. He is best remembered in California by the army of jail birds he brought into it and by his connection with the Limantour fraud. On August 25, 1842, San Diego had a last glimpse of the Mexican military glory in the arrival of Governor Micheltorena in the Brig "*Chato*" who remained about a month drilling and outfitting his "battalion of cholos," as they have been called. This invasion was the last of the convict colonies sent from Mexico. Fortunately, they did not remain long in San Diego but moved on to devastate the rest of the country. They showed themselves very poor soldiers but exceedingly expert night prowlers and pilferers.

Sources: Eldredge, p. 440.

Smythe, p. 129, Volume I

80. *Los Cholos*. A word used in contempt and applied chiefly to those who were from Guadalajara who had not acquired property or money. Cholo is corruption for word "Chulu" used in Andalusia to designate the same class. The 200 regular soldiers were also obtained with difficulty and were scarcely more desirable than Cholos. Those are said to have conducted themselves as outrageously on ship-board as they afterwards did on land. They stole everything they could find to steal, not only robbing a few passengers and the sailors, but their officers, and finally each other. None of them possessed a jacket or pantaloons but naked, and like the savage Indians, they concealed their nudity with dirty, miserable blankets. The females were not much better off for the scantiness of their mean apparel was too apparent for most modest observers. They appeared like convicts, and indeed the greater part of them had been charged with the crime of murder or theft. And these were the soldiers sent to subdue this happy country. Micheltorena managed to provide them with all white linen uniforms and later the citizens at Santa Barbara and elsewhere raised by subscription the means to further provide them. Drilling was begun and they were kept busy day and night working in gardens, houses and shops.

Sources: Eldredge, p. 411.

Hayes, Benjamin, Dairy of, pp. 134, 237.

81. *Captain William Mervine*. "On the morning of July 7, 1846, Commodore Sloat at an early hour sent Captain Mervine on shore at Monterey with a demand upon Mariano Silva, the Mexican Comandante of Monterey, for its immediate surrender to the U.S. By 9 o'clock Silva answered that he had no authority to surrender the place and referred the Commodore to Jose Castro, the Comandante-General then at Santa Clara. Upon receiving this answer Sloat immediately ordered the disembarkation of 250 seamen and marines and seized the port. The men were landed. Captain Mervine who was placed in command, marched them to the custom-house, where they were halted. There was no opposition. In November, the Americans were again encamped at Dominguez Rancho expecting no resistance. The Californians under Carrillo fired a shot at the house and surprised them. They then posted their gun in the road and the horsemen in line to one side. The American sailors and volunteers had not the least idea how to form a hollow square in order to resist the cavalry. Instead they were ordered to close up when the horsemen charged and so formed a compact mass of 250 men crowded together, a prime target for one cannon.

To get the range, two of the horsemen would dismount in advance of the cannon and by waving a long pole up and down, right and left, they would help the cannoner. When the cannon was fired the horsemen at the same time charged but immediately wheeled around again. The short charge by the Californians was a maneuver to discourage the Americans from rushing the cannon and thus gave the horsemen with riatas time to drag the cannon to its next vantage point to be reloaded.

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"In all, four shots were fired in this manner, the cannoneer depressing his gun so as to strike the ground and the ball ricocheting spent its force in the solid mass killing or wounding three or four each time. The running fight was kept up for about three miles to the slough boundary of the Rancho where the gun got stuck in the mud and they almost lost it to the Americans who had had enough. The day was hot and it was still a long way back to Los Angeles. They retreated back to the ranch house, piled their dead on a cart and headed back to San Pedro, where they re-embarked."

Source: Burns, Gladys Carson, *The Dominguez Family of Rancho San Pedro*, Los Angeles Westerners Corral. Branding Iron, March, 1955.

82. *Captain Gillespie*. On December 3, 1846, Captain Gillespie was ordered to take as many men as he could mount, with a piece of artillery and endeavor to surprise General Andrés Pico and his fifty men who were encamped at San Bernardo. Before this expedition departed, however, two deserters from Pico's camp came and reported that Pico had been reinforced by one hundred men. The expedition left the same evening. The results of this undertaking are well documented. Previously in the Battle of San Pasqual, Captain Gillespie, a skillful swordsman, was attacked by Dolores Higuera, (El guero) and Gillespie received first a slight wound in the chest and was then struck full in the mouth and had two of his teeth knocked out. He was thrown from his horse where he lay still and feigned death.

Source: Smythe, pp. 209-213.

83. *Los Penasquitos*. "Little Rock" is the meaning in Spanish. A canyon, whose name appears in the land grant, Santa Maria de los Penasquitos, June 15, 1823. The ranch was granted June 15, 1823, to Captain Francisco Maria Ruiz, military commander at San Diego. It was the first grant within present San Diego county. In 1837, Ruiz appeared before the alcalde of San Diego and "making known his advanced age transferred the ownership of Los Penasquitos Rancho to Francisco Maria Alvarado, in compensation for the board and care he had given him in times of failing strength and sickness." Ruiz never married, died in 1839. Alvarado became owner and lived at the ranch before and after the American occupation. The acreage was 8,486.01. Located seven miles east of Del Mar. A photo of this ranch may be seen in the *Southern California Rancher*, Volume 21, No. 5, May 1956, p. 7.

Sources: *A Map of the Missions, Presidios, Pueblos and some of the more Interesting Ranchos of Spanish California together with the Routes of the Principal Land Explorations therein*, published by Westways, 1956, (The Automobile Club of Southern California) Ranchos of San Diego County, pp. 16, 17, 41.

84. *Pauma Rancho*. The name of a rancharia of Luiseño Indians, recorded in 1790's, applied to a land grant in 1844. An Indian word for "I bring water." The original grantee was José Antonio Serrano, son of Leandro Serrano, whose father came to San Diego in 1769 with Father Serra. Don José married Rafaela, daughter of Rosario Aguilar, mayordomo of the San Diego Mission, 1838. The acreage of Pauma was 13,309.60. Located in the San Luis Rey valley, above Pala on the west slope of Palomar.

Sources: Ranchos of San Diego County, pp. 46, 47.  
Smythe, pp. 186-187, Volume I

85. *José Antonio Serrano*. José was a horse and cattle man. He served under Pico in the Mexican war and was engaged at the battle of San Pasqual. The site of El Toro, (Cañada de los Alisos) was granted in 1842 to José Antonio and most of it was acquired in the 1880's by Dwight Whiting and became known as the Whiting Ranch. In the Pauma massacre, José lost a brother Manuel Serrano (20 years old), a brother-in-law, Ramon Aguilar and a nephew-in-law, Santos Alipás. (See footnote 87). He was still living at San Diego in 1875, age 61. His wife was a daughter of Rosario Aguilar.

Sources: *Ranchos of San Diego County*, pp. 46, 47.  
Bancroft, Volume V, p. 717, 352; Volume IV, p. 621, 626  
Smythe, pp. 175, 263.

86. *Valle de San José*. Spanish for "Valley of St. Joseph." The rancho San José del Valle was explored and named by Fray Juan Mariner and Juan Pablo Grijalva, August, 1795. Later called Agua Caliente, close to Warner's Ranch or in the most northeasterly corner of San Diego County. On March 20, 1834, Silvestre de la Portilla petitioned Governor Figueroa for a grant to the lands. On April 16, 1836, Governor Gutierrez issued the grant. In 1840 it was re-granted to Jose Antonio Pico, ultimately to Jonathan Trumbull Warner. Trouble over the land and with the Indians caused the abandonment of the land, and it was in 1844 that Warner filed a petition for the land and Governor Micheltorena granted the



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land to him on November 28, 1844. After Warner's ownership to this huge tract of land, it was better known as Warner's ranch. He was in possession of the ranch until February, 1861, when it was broken up into four sections and sold at public auction.

Sources: Hill, Joseph J., *History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs*, Privately Printed, Los Angeles, 1927.

87. *Pauma Massacre*. The Pauma Massacre has always been shrouded in mystery as to the exact reasons behind the killing of the eleven men. The best coverage of this tragedy has been given by Millard F. Hudson and in the Diary of Judge Benjamin Hayes.

The Indians in the vicinity of the ranch were of the San Luiseño tribe or San Luis Rey Indians. The Pauma group probably included not more than 75 under the leadership of Manuelito. Associated with him was Pablo Apis, an Indian from Temecula, a half-breed son of Machado of San Diego. José Antonio Serrano, owner of the Pauma Rancho, had come to the ranch after participating in the battle of San Pasqual. The day after the battle, he and some of the other men were resting at the ranch when he overheard several Indian women discussing the proposed attack. He warned the others but they did not believe him. Serrano and a brother-in-law, José Aguilar, then rode to Pala taking with them Jesus Serrano, a son of José. It is interesting to note that Juana Machado in this manuscript states, "a brother of mine named Rafael Machado was also with his little belongings at Pauma, with others, who like managed to escape from the Indians." This is a fact not noted in other research and an important one in fixing the reasoning behind the massacre, since it is definitely established that José Antonio Serrano and Rafael Machado participated in the battle of San Pasqual. José, incidentally, on the side of the Californios and Rafael as a guide for the Americans, a point not clear. In any event those remaining were taken as captives by Manuelito who up to this time had been a very good friend of the men. It is thought that Manuelito intended to release captives but Pablo Apis and the men of Manuelito's tribe were against it. They, therefore, asked the advice of William Marshall (See Footnote 89), and Yguera, a Mexican living at Agua Caliente, as was Marshall. Marshall indicated to the Indians that the Mexicans and Americans were at war and that it might be a good thing to put the Mexicans to death to possibly win favor with the Americans. The capture of Marshall and the incidents related to his hanging are related under footnote No. 89. Serrano and Aguilar returned to Pauma and realized that their friends had been captured and followed the Indians to Agua Caliente. Believing in Manuelito they watched from a distance but when the Indians reached Agua Caliente, Serrano felt the worst to come and sent a message to Santa Ysabel rancho for help. An offer of ransom was made to the Indians but to no avail and the messenger returned to Santa Ysabel. The chief Ignacio and his men from Santa Ysabel went immediately to effect the rescue but the Paumas, sensing a rescue attempt, put the men to death.

Most of the prisoners were put to death by thrusts with spears heated in the fire. A few were killed by being mutilated. When the first man was taken out of the circle and killed, the survivors realized their fate and broke down, asking their lives be spared. Young Santos Alipáz alone, remained calm and comforted his companions saying, "What is the use of crying, we can only die once; let us die like brave men." At his request, the Indians granted him a death by shooting through the forehead.

There are a number of theories for this incident. One being that the treatment of the Indians had been severe by the Mexicans at the ranchos. Another story is that the American forces had trailed some of the Californios to the ranch and had incited the Paumas to turn on the Mexicans. A final theory indicates that since this occurred, following the action of the Battle of San Pasqual, that these men were killed in the action of December the 6th and that the Mexicans tried to conceal their own loss by complaining of the Indians.

Sources: Hudson, Millard F., *The Pauma Massacre*, *Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*, 1906, page 13.

Bancroft, Volume V, p. 567.

Hayes, Benjamin F., *Diary*, p. 285.

88. *Antonio Berras*. Chief of the Agua Caliente tribe.

Source: Smythe, p. 191, Volume I

89. *William Marshall*. Bill was a sailor from Providence, Rhode Island, and in 1844 he deserted a whaling ship after its arrival in San Diego. Almost immediately he fell in love with one of San Diego's most beautiful women, Lugarda Osuna.

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He demanded her hand in marriage and she refused. He considered her haughty and unfeeling in rejecting his proposal, so when she married José María Alvarado, it aroused in Marshall bitter hatred of his successful rival. Because of this jealousy and anger a reason is found for his later cruel acts.

When the eleven Mexican rangers were taken prisoners by the Pauma Indians, Marshall, who had married one of the daughters of José Lacano, told the Indians that since the Mexicans and Americans were at war it would please the Americans if they would execute these prisoners. Thus the Pauma massacre took place. The bad advice of Marshall was taken and the Mexicans were put to death. Probably Marshall was not immediately connected with the Pauma incident since he was not one of those punished, but the obvious ambitions of Marshall had much to do with the Garra revolt later on.

The Garra revolt, brought on initially by the sheriff of San Diego County who attempted to tax the Diegueño and Luiseño Indians, only provided the incentive Antonio Garra, a mission-educated Indian, needed. After the murder of four Americans at Warner's Hot Springs on November 23, 1851, Antonio Garra, Sr., Antonio Garra Jr., and several other ring leaders were arrested by Major-General Joshua H. Bean who led the California Militia. Lacano, Marshall's father-in-law, was immediately released as he apparently knew nothing of the events. The Garra's and Marshall were found guilty. On December 26, 1851, after being sentenced, Blas, José Lewis, Juan and Antonio Garra, Sr., were ordered to be shot at daylight on the morning of the 27th. The court-martial and execution of the prisoners took place at the Chino Ranch. Antonio Garra, Jr., the main prisoner, was taken to San Diego where they arrived January 8, 1852. After another brief court-martial, Garra was shot and his brave and dignified manner is a legend. Marshall, along with Juan Verdugo, was confined in the San Diego jail and they, too, were tried by court-martial. About to be hanged, Marshall sent for the widow of José María Alvarado. Marshall voluntarily acknowledged that he had been the cause of the death of her first husband and begged forgiveness. Lugarda granted this and promised to stay with Marshall until the end. She stood as his "Madrina" at his baptism and walked with him beside the priest to the gallows. It is an interesting fact that many references indicate that Marshall firmly stated even at the time of his death that he was innocent but that he had known of the plans of the Indians to kill the four Americans but had made no attempt to stop them. Antonio Garra made a confession at Rancho del Chino on December 13, 1851, in which he indicated that "Bill Marshall and Juan Verde (Verdugo) knew nothing of the transaction. They were ignorant of what had been done." Marshall maintained his innocence. A priest absolved them and they kissed the cross. Marshall and Verdugo were hanged about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Standing in a wagon they were not blindfolded, the noose placed around their necks and the wagon driven away.

Sources: Garra, Antonio Sr., Confession of December 13, 1851, signed at the Rancho del Chino. Woodward, Arthur A., Journal of Lt. Thomas W. Sweeny, footnote 66 (from the Daily Alta Newspaper, January 15, 1852) and footnote No. 53.

90. *Francisco Basualdo*, an artillery sergeant, a gray-haired man of about 60 who was a cousin to Governor Pico and a son-in-law of José Lopes. He had come to California in 1828. Stationed at Santa Barbara and San Diego.

Sources: Bancroft, Volume II, p. 712.  
Smythe, p. 186, Volume I.

91. *Ramon Aguilar*, brother to Doña Nieves Aguilar, brother-in-law of José Antonio Serrano. Ramon was about 15 years old. He was one of eight children of José del Rosario Aguilar and María Lorenza Morillo.

Source: Biographical Files, Serra Museum (including the 1935 notes of Winifred Davidson).

92. *Santos Alipáz*, the nephew of Mrs. José Antonio Serrano (Nieves Aguilar de Serrano). Had been sent by his mother from San Diego to carry supplies to his father, serving with Pico. He was 13 years old.

Source: Smythe, p. 162.

93. *Dominguez* (Dominguitos) of Los Angeles City. His full name was Francisco Pancho Dominguez.

Source: Biographical files, Serra Museum.

94. *Santiago Osuna*, an old man, one of three brothers serving under Pico. Son of the venerable Doña Juliana Osuna.

Source: Biographical files, Serra Museum.

95. *José María Alvarado*, Sergeant at Monterey, granted Los Vallecitos de San Marcos rancho in 1840. At Pauma, Alvarado opened the door and the Indians rushed in and seized them. He lived with his wife in San Diego. He was the husband



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of Lugarda Osuna who later took the confession from William Marshall. Juez at San Diego, 1841-1842. Aptd. Juez-de-Campo in February, 1841.

Sources: *History of San Diego County Ranchos*, pp. 33, 46, 47.  
Smythe, p. 186, Volume I.  
Holiday, Volume XCI.

96. *Juan José Lopez*, of Cañada de San Vicente Rancho (Spanish for Glen of St. Vincent) granted January 25, 1845, by Governor Pio Pico to Juan José López. In the revolt of 1831 Juan was a participant. He was the father of Lino López and brother of Ignacio. He owned some property at San Juan Capistrano during 1841 to 1843.

Source: Bancroft, Volume III, p. 201; IV, pp. 371, 624, 626; V, p. 617.

97. *Manuel Serrano*, brother of José Antonio Serrano, 20 years old. His father was José Leandro Serrano and his mother was María de la Presentacion y Cecelia Yorba.

Source: Biographical files, Serra Museum.

98. *Eustaquio Ruiz*, related to the Picos, also called Justachio Ruiz. Son of Don Joaquin Ruiz of Las Bolsas, Los Angeles County.

Source: Biographical files, Serra Museum.

99. A thorough search has failed to turn up any more information on these last two men mentioned.

100. *Rafael Machado*. "Shortly after dark at San Pasqual, Captain A. R. Johnston, Kearny's aide-de-camp, rode into Gillespie's camp and said that the general would like to use Rafael Machado, the native Californian scout attached to Gillespie's command, as a guide for a party under Lieutenant Thomas C. Hammond, which was going forward to reconnoiter the enemy's camp under cover of darkness. In spite of all the arguments to the contrary Kearny sent forward Lieutenant Hammond with Machado and a detail of men. They came out on the summit of the rocky, brush-covered ridge that overlooks the valley of San Pasqual. About a mile and a half ahead of them they could see the camp fires of Pico's men, who were bivouacked among the huts of the Digueño Indians. There was an ugly suspicion in the Californian camp that their leader would surrender to the Americans at the first opportunity or that he would run. As a result of these suspicions, José Serrano and four of his companions kept their saddle horses at the camp ground ready for any emergency. When Hammond and his men saw the fires, they halted, and the lieutenant sent Machado ahead to learn what he could about the numbers and the disposition of the enemy forces. According to Pearce who heard the report of the scouting party after it returned to camp, Machado was accompanied by Sergeant Richard Williams. These two worked their way across the valley until they came near one of the huts. Through the door they could see a number of blanketed forms lying on the floor and a lone Indian sitting by the fire. Machado beckoned this man outside and began questioning him. Unfortunately, however, a small dog snooping about, caught the scent of the main body of American scouts and began barking. It was about eleven o'clock p.m. and blacker than the inside of a witch's hat. The California sentry, José María Ibarra, stationed in front of the camp, saw no one, and Machado and Williams immediately withdrew making a wide circle to rejoin their comrades." Rafael is also listed as a member of Captain Santiago E. Argüello's Company enrolled at San Diego, December 22, 1846, to serve for three months. Rafael later married Bersabe Alipáz on July 31, 1872. Margarita, a daughter of his is buried in El Campo Santo.

Sources: Woodward Arthur, *Lances at San Pasqual*, pp. 24, 25, 27.

The Society of California Pioneers, publication for the year 1950. Centennial of the Society, edited by Mrs. Helen S. Giffen, San Francisco, California. (From the Muster Roll in the Reading Collection, California State Library).  
Biographical files, Serra Museum, San Diego.

# The Last of the Canalinos

By Margaret Romer

**E**IGHTEEN YEARS ALONE on a desert island! A woman Robinson Crusoe without benefit of tropical verdure or a helper like "Friday." A saga of nerve, courage, self-reliance — of pure heroism. This is the true story of Juana Maria.

A chain of islands dots the waters off the Southern California coast from the Mexican border to Point Conception above Santa Barbara. Santa Catalina, the popular island vacation paradise, is the best known of these. The outermost of the chain is San Nicolas, some seventy-five miles off shore — unsheltered, wind-torn, rugged and barren. It is only about a third as large as Santa Catalina.

Early in the 1800's the Channel Islands supported about 20,000 peaceful Indians of a high culture level. They were known as the Canalinos. Even San Nicolas had a thousand or so inhabitants. The sea was rich in fish and seals. Especially numerous were the sea otter, gentle little mammals whose luxuriant fur brought fancy prices in the markets of Europe. Otter hunters had a field day. In their greed, they exterminated the otter and decimated the human population of the Islands. The Indians tried to protect their natural heritage and many an unequal battle was fought — bullets against arrows. Finally only a score of Indians was left on San Nicolas. To protect them from complete annihilation, the Mexican Government sent Charles Hubbard of the little schooner appropriately named, "*Peor es Nada*" meaning "Better than Nothing," to bring the natives to the mainland where they could live in security under the protection of the Missions and also receive the blessings of Christian teaching.

San Nicolas is surrounded by dense beds of kelp making landing hazardous. The hunters who visited the Island usually disembarked on a long low sandspit at the eastern end, that was relatively kelp free. Here Captain Hubbard anchored his little craft and struggled to hold it against the wind while the natives brought their possessions aboard.

Juana Maria was a young Indian mother with an infant of about two years — just the age, as every mother knows, when babies



get into everything and you have to have them on a rope to keep track of them! So Juana Maria's baby toddled off and disappeared just at a critical time. All were aboard but the young mother who was frantically searching for her baby. Meanwhile the wind rose to a gale. The restless waters swirled around the Island from both sides and met in a churning tumult causing the little craft to bob around like a leaf. Captain Hubbard had all he could do to manage the vessel. After what seemed to him a reasonable wait, he pulled up the anchor and, in spite of the pleas of the other Indians, sailed off.

The schooner had barely left shore when Juana Maria came running up the beach carrying the baby. The natives begged the Captain to turn back, but he either could not, or would not. But he assured them he would return for the woman and child the next day.

On shore, Juana Maria was terrified at seeing the boat sail off without her. She ran along the beach screaming, "*Mane-quauna!—Mane-quauna!*" Her friends on board looked on helplessly and tried to wave her assurance. The young mother stopped and stared — stunned — and watched the schooner until it faded into the horizon. The first shock over, she settled down to wait for the boat's return. Surely they would come back for her and the baby.

Captain Hubbard landed his human cargo at San Pedro, where the San Nicolonians were met by Franciscan missionaries and taken to San Gabriel Mission. Urgent orders awaited the Captain. The *Peor es Nada* was to sail at once for San Francisco. He turned in his report of the mission just completed, including a notation that a woman and child were still on the Island. The paper was duly filed. The second trip to San Nicolas would have to wait until his return from the north.

As the wobbly little schooner was sailing through the Golden Gate, she was hit by an unusually heavy storm, capsized, drifted out to sea, and eventually went to the bottom. But her crew was saved.

At Mission San Gabriel, Juana Maria's people tried to tell the good priests of the young mother's plight, but there was not an Indian to be found who understood the Island language. No one else knew about Juana Maria and her innocent little trouble-making toddler.

The day following the departure of her people, Juana Maria paced the hard sand of the beach watching for the sail that would bring her rescue. It didn't come. Day followed day . . . week followed week. Hope finally died in her heart and she accepted the fact that she had been deserted — forgotten. The baby died, either

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by illness or accident — nobody knows. The young mother wept, as any mother would. She dug a small deep grave on a hillside and buried the child — the last human companion she was to know for eighteen years. In her loneliness she made pets of young otters, and the dogs that were left behind were her friends.

The lone inhabitant of San Nicolas continued to live as her people had always lived. But now she must do everything for herself — hunt, fish, even make the fish-lines and fish-hooks; and awls and knives from the hard wood of the scrub oaks. She built herself new houses as her people had built them. Whale ribs from the occasional dead whales washed up on the shore, stuck upright in the ground for walls, and thatched with brush. There was a seal rookery nearby where she occasionally killed a seal for a dietary change from fish and shell-fish. She made dresses from their skins and fish-lines from the sinews. The fishhooks she fashioned from shells. There were plenty of utensils left by the other natives, but baskets, bowls and bottles woven from grasses wore out, so she had to weave more of them. She made dresses, too, from the feathered skins of cormorants. One of these is now on exhibit at the Vatican.

The Island rises to a peak of some 900 feet. On the slope of this hill, Juana Maria made her home at a spot that commanded a view of the landing spit and of a large portion of the Island. An excellent spring was close at hand, and a seal rookery as well as the best fishing were directly below. Her domicile consisted of three whalebone houses with a brush wall on the windward side. The torrential rains of winter, the howling winds, the booming of the sea in the caves below — of all these, Juana Maria was not afraid. She had but one terror — the hunters who occasionally visited the Island — for it was men like them who had killed most of her people. From her vantage point she could see them land, and she remained in hiding and watched until they went away.

It was generally accepted that San Nicolas was uninhabited, but hunters frequently reported that they had seen evidences of human habitation there. At first these statements were discredited, but they persisted. Then, too, there was a rumor that a woman and a child had been left on the Island at the time the natives were removed to the mainland. This probably came from the crew of the *Peor es Nada* who were rescued from the wreck at the entrance to San Francisco Bay. But nothing was done about it for seventeen long years.

Then in 1852, George Nidever, a respected old sea captain of Santa Barbara, went over to San Nicolas to hunt for seagulls' eggs. He found the eggs — and more — human footprints. He and his



crew discovered, also, that some of the crude shelters on the Island had been recently visited.

Returning to Santa Barbara, Captain Nidever told of his findings. Father Gonzales Rubio was pastor of the Mission parish and also Vicar-General of the Diocese of Monterey. When the good Father heard the news he became greatly interested and asked the Captain to make a thorough search of the Island.

Captain Nidever and a citizen named C. B. Dittman made another trip to San Nicolas in an effort to find the "lost woman." Beside more fresh footprints, they found in the crotch of a bush, a basket of woven grass containing various artifacts including shell fishhooks and a long rope of sinew, all neatly covered with a piece of sealskin. Nidever deliberately scattered these things on the ground and left the spot. Returning some time later, he found the articles replaced and the basket returned to the crotch as before. Now he was convinced. But the men returned to Santa Barbara without finding the woman.

Wise old Captain Nidever guessed the truth. He reasoned that the woman was probably hiding from them from fear, due to the tragic experience of her tribe. He suggested that they organize a rescue party comprised mostly of Indians. Perhaps then she would come out of hiding.

On the next attempt, in July of 1853, Captain Nidever and Mr. Dittman took along four Indians. They planned to search the Island canyon by canyon. Landing at the sandspit at the east end, they prepared to march the entire nine-mile length, scanning every square foot of ground. One of the men must necessarily come upon her. It was arranged that whoever found her was to place his hat on the muzzle of his gun, raise it high and shout. Then the men would close in around her and "capture" her. They did not know what to expect. Would she resist — perhaps fight and scratch? Would they have to take her by force?

The march began. It was slow and difficult. Up and down steep hillsides, over deep gullies, across tedious sand dunes. At last, Mr. Dittman found her, and gave the signal. She was sitting in the sun outside one of her huts, busily engaged in stripping a piece of sealskin. The other men closed in, and her dogs growled as they approached.

When Juana Maria saw that the strangers were men of her own race, she called off her dogs and came forward happily to greet them. She treated them as guests and offered them food. Though they could not converse, they seemed to understand each other.

Juana Maria was then about fifty years of age, with brown

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hair. She was of medium height, well built — a perfect physique, and in perfect health. Shy and quiet, yet self-assured. She wore a dress of feathered cormorant skins that came almost to her ankles.

The rescue party remained a few weeks longer to hunt and to study both the Island, and the "lost woman's" way of life. When they left, she went with them willingly, no doubt looking forward to being re-united with her people. She took a few of her possessions with her, including some seal skins and a few dresses of feathered cormorant skins, and her treasured shell "jewels" which she kept in "jewel boxes" made of two abalone shells hinged together with tar that had drifted up on the beach.

She was ill at ease on the voyage across the water, but recognized the other Channel Islands as they passed and called them by their Indian names. Once on the mainland, she clapped her hands like a child when she first saw an ox-cart and a man on horseback. Captain Nidever took her to his home where his wife took care of her and did everything possible for her comfort and pleasure. She became the pet of the town. It was as if the people were trying to atone for the wrong done her so long ago.

The good padres of the Mission sent a messenger to tell her people of her rescue, only to learn that the other San Nicolonians had all died of illness. They sent for Indians from all the tribes around in an effort to find someone who could understand her language. None did. They did not even know her name, so Father Francisco Sanchez of the Santa Barbara Mission baptized her Juana Maria.

After living alone so long, Juana Maria had become completely uninhibited — a child of nature. Naïve, she conformed to no customs. She would sing whenever she felt like it — which was most of the time, for she was a happy soul. Though her voice was not of the prima donna class, it was at least a spontaneous expression of joy. Seldom walking, she usually went dancing along with a hop-skip-and-jump, or on the run. She loved to go visiting from house to house among the Indians and Mexicans. Everyone loved her.

Captain Nidever acted as her guardian and he provided liberally to keep her well dressed and comfortable. A traveling show offered him a large sum of money to allow them to take her on the road for exhibition. To his credit, he refused the offer.

But the food of civilization did not agree with Juana Maria. She developed stomach trouble. By that time, too, she knew that she would never see her people again. Hopelessness and acute gastritis combined to take their toll. In spite of the best medical care available, the joyous voice was hushed, the dancing steps ceased.



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In less than three months after her "rescue," Padre Gonzales Rubio spoke the Last Rites and laid to rest in the cemetery of Mission Santa Barbara, the brave, resourceful child of God, Juana Maria.

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# Art in Los Angeles *Before 1900*

By Henry Winfred Splitter

(Continued from the June QUARTERLY)

## PART III

OME DETAILS WILL NOW BE GIVEN concerning those more prominent Los Angeles artists thus far only mentioned on previous pages. Alex F. Harmer, who resided in Los Angeles from 1885 to 1892, gained some reputation as a painter of Indians and as "artist with Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson on the *Century Magazine*." Charles F. Lummis considered him as "indisputably the artist of the Apaches and of old-time Spanish Californians." Born in New Jersey in 1856, he sold an oil painting at the age of eleven, and as a youth enlisted in the U.S. Regular Army for service in the Far West, where he hoped as a side line to study the country and paint. After a two-year stretch and an interval of study at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts, he returned, by a new enlistment, to Western army life. He was with General Crook, and with Capt. John G. Bourke in Arizona. He was a member of the detachment that captured Geronimo in 1883, and was thereafter transferred to service at the Apache reservation at San Carlos. In 1885, he came to Los Angeles, married a Spanish-Californian, and removed to Santa Barbara in 1893.<sup>115</sup>

William Lees Judson came to Los Angeles in 1894 as a health refugee from England. A portrait painter by specialty, he taught this craft, also landscape, at Macleod's Los Angeles School of Art and Design. As a local artist, he was intrigued mainly by landscape and the Spanish-Californian genre. He bought a home near the Arroyo Seco at Pasadena, and some of his best paintings are of this area. He became member of and, by 1913, Dean of the Art Department of the University of Southern California. His style was eclectic with a strong tendency toward impressionism and yet capable of fine detailed realism.<sup>116</sup>



Of modest artistic stature but producing work of considerable attractiveness, was Elmer Wachtel, a water-colorist. Like Francisco, he first had intended to be a musician, then gradually gave up his violin for painting. In 1887 he joined a life class, then studied black-and-white landscape, with a subsequent season at the Art Student's League in New York. He did illustrations for the *Californian Magazine*, tabbed by Lummis as by far the handsomest magazine ever published on the coast." He also produced pen-and-ink drawings for Lummis' magazine, *Land of Sunshine*, and exhibited at the New York Water Color Society, the San Francisco Art Association, and the Los Angeles Midwinter Fair. In 1895 the *Express* declared his water colors "as dainty and fresh as they are strong" and "marked by delicacy and strength."<sup>117</sup>

The influence of French Impressionism, the outstanding movement in the field of painting during this period, was strongest among Los Angeles artists in the work of Guy Rose. Guy, the son of a wealthy father, had as a boy aided in designing the architectural ornament of the spacious family residence at Fourth and Grand, on Bunker Hill. An example was the staircase oriol window of jeweled glass, the center panel of which represented an amber horn of plenty from which fell a fluttering shower of wild roses.

In 1888 he left for Paris, where he studied painting for three years at the Julian Academy, with Jules Lefebvre, one of the greatest living painters of the nude, and with Benjamin Constant, famous exponent of Oriental life and scenes. While still a beginner, he had already painted several pictures of both promise and worth. One of these, a realistic view of Constantinople, hung in 1890 in the family library while in the drawing-living room was a portrait of his younger sister, depicted as clad in white and seated in an antique mahogany chair. A viewer said: "Her pose is natural, and her expression very lifelike and sweet."<sup>118</sup>

The young artist studied assiduously at the Academy and was rewarded by receiving at an 1891 exhibition of six hundred examples of Julian students' work, the grand prize. Several of his canvases were accepted for exhibition at the Paris Salon. Though the work at the Julian Academy was limited entirely to study of the human figure, the student was privileged during the long summer vacation, to explore any artistic field he chose. With Guy Rose it was landscapes with figures.

While in Normandy during one of the extensive summer painting excursions, Rose was fortunate enough to meet Claude Monet, the honored and highly revered Impressionist. For two seasons master and student had sketched in the same vicinity, but

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it was not until the second year that "the moody and soured nature of Monet unbent enough to so much as notice the young artist who was struggling to paint nature as he saw it. After the first contact, it was but a step first to criticism, then to suggestion, until Mr. Rose found himself as nearly a pupil to the great artist who scorns both salaries and dealers, as any student may hope to be. The result is that many of Mr. Rose's most beautiful landscapes show the strong influence of the impressionist."<sup>119</sup>

Upon his arrival home from France in 1891, an exhibition of some twenty of Rose's paintings was arranged at Sanborn & Vail's gallery. They all presented French scenes: "Le Fin de la Journée" (End of Day) in the vein of Millet — weary peasants going home at the end of a long day's work (a Salon picture); "Les Ramasseuses des Pommes de Terre" (Potato Gatherers), also a Salon Picture, as was likewise "La Managère" (The Cook), showing the interior of a peasant hut with an old woman peeling onions. In addition, there were several studies of Normandy church interiors and two landscapes reminiscent of Monet. The studio, however, was scarcely large enough for the paintings to be seen to advantage.<sup>120</sup>

Guy Rose in subsequent years again traveled to Paris from time to time for further study. In Los Angeles art circles he was generally connected with the Macleod association, which seems to have been pro-Impressionist as over the Realistic-Romantic bias of the Borghum-Francisco sponsored Society of Fine Arts. Describing four large canvases, two of them of earlier vintage, exhibited by Rose at an Art Association display in 1894, the *Herald* says: "There is much variety of treatment — 'The End of Day' leaning strongly toward the Impressionist school, 'The Potato Gatherers' less so, but with the brilliant coloring and crisp atmosphere of this French school, the figures in both showing motion and life. 'The Woman's Corner' is much more realistic if less poetic, and the portrait of 'The Artist's Mother' is lifelike. The drawing is all correct and careful."<sup>121</sup>

In an Art Association exhibition of 1895, Rose was represented by a portrait of his wife, which, said the *Express*, "shows a keen appreciation of color, with modern influence in the treatment."<sup>122</sup> This critic noted a trend in Rose's painting which did not altogether please him. Commenting a few months later, "Those who have followed the work of Guy Rose in Paris and New York, and have noted his experiments in different methods, may compare the portrait of his wife unfavorably with some of the painting done under the influence of Monet. He appears to be working more directly, and this might be considered a gain, but the flesh in this portrait



lacks color and texture, and the whole thing shows a tinge of the 'decadent' school."<sup>123</sup> Decadence in this instance probably refers to the distortions in figure and general deviations from reality introduced by young fin-de-siecle painters such as Matisse and Dufy and later by Utrillo. In conclusion we may say that a number of Rose's paintings have been in the galleries of the Pasadena Public Library.

Best known by far of Los Angeles artists of this period is John Gutzon Borglum, sculptor and painter, born in 1871, who as a young man started out here on his road to fame.<sup>124</sup> Borglum came to Los Angeles in 1885 as lithographer's apprentice and studied lithographic engraving and designing. Needing more pay, he went to work for a local fresco painter, also rented a little studio and part of the time worked on his own. While with the lithographer, young Borglum met Eberlie, an excellent painter of the Dusseldorf school, whose beautiful canvases roused in the youth a desire to study painting.

By the late 1880's Borglum had advanced far enough in the technique of painting to be able to instruct elementary classes in the art. He was "discovered" by George Butler Griffin, one of whose daughters, then aged twelve, accompanied him as a member of a sketching group. She recalls him saying typically, "The artist should approach nature with great reverence." Aided by Griffin, Borglum studied for a time with William Keith of San Francisco, whom he greatly admired. Finally the painting of his picture "Stage Coach" brought him renown and opportunity to study in Paris. "Stage Coach" was purchased by Hancock Banning.

Bob Davis, one-time editor of *Munsey's*, was at the time working as a printer's apprentice near Gutzon's studio. Said Davis, "His walls were the most fascinating things in my life. They were hung with pictures of stage coaches and horses leaping at you from every direction. They were painted in oils, and I thought them the finest in California. He also molded in clay and chiseled a bit in stone. He confided to me that his ambition was to excel in sculpture, and that he painted only to get the financial sinews with which to go on."

Borglum's portrait of General Frémont, painted here in 1888, brought him acclaim and in addition the inspiring assistance of Frémont's wife, Jessie Benton Frémont. The most discriminating patron of the young artist was Spencer J. Smith, a Los Angeles resident, who purchased enough of Borglum's canvases to give the youth a start toward his training in Paris.

In 1889, Gutzon Borglum married Mrs. Elizabeth Putnam,

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herself a painter and considerably older than he. The couple moved to a small house in the foothills behind Arcadia and near Lucky Baldwin's ranch and famous thoroughbred horses. He used these as models for painting and sculpture and never tired of them.

During June of the next year, 1890, however, Borglum left for Europe, accompanied by his wife and forty unsold canvases. The first stop enroute was at Omaha (the Borglum family had lived in Nebraska before coming to California). Here Gutzon's paintings were placed on exhibition at the Liniger Art Gallery. An anonymous citizen of that city had agreed to pay most of the Borglum couple's expenses to and in Europe, leaving them free to arrange all details of their life and study to please themselves. An Omaha paper predicted, and correctly, that Borglum would not be weakened in his rugged Americanism while in Paris, but would assimilate such aspects of artistic life there as would aid in his artistic expression of America.<sup>125</sup>

Two long letters to the *Los Angeles Times* from Borglum while in Paris in 1891 give considerable insight into his reaction to the ferment of ideas and persons in that great art center. Upon his arrival there early in the year, he took modern and quiet lodgings with his wife at 65 Boulevard Arago, Atelier 26. Among his first purchases in Paris was what he called a new style of tricycle with four wheels, by means of which he and his spouse hoped to see Paris and even Europe.

Though he appreciated many features of Parisian life, basically he was critical of much. For example, he depreciated the tendency of art students, especially Americans, to lose all originality of thought and perception and to assume at once current art tendencies and fashions. The romantic story-telling picture so popular in America and of which he himself was fond, he found ridiculed and almost ignored in current Parisian art circles. There was an almost universal contempt for sentiment. "Artifice," he declared sadly, "pervades everything, and nature, animals, and people all seem to be playing the part of something or somebody else. The very gardens are planted in stiff and unpleasant designs, while even the poor horses and dogs, in fashionable regalia, almost lose their identity." He characterized French art, as distinct from the American, as "brilliant" but "light." "Their pictures seem to be painted only for the occasion — either to astonish, to show smartness, or for honors, seldom purely for art. That, they think, can come later, when they have accomplished the rest. Their vanity or mannerisms are ridiculous, and as originality is the present craze, you must be unusually deformed in some way or other to hope for success in the



present salons. There is great uncertainty," continued Borglum, "as to *how* a subject should be painted, and we find some advocating the very light, milky, decorative method headed by Puvis de Chevannes, others the solid dark color of the old masters, while others prefer the minuteness of Messonnier."

From this turmoil of new ideas Borglum took refuge in what he soon came to consider the chief strength of current French art — namely drawing. All French artists, regardless of style of presentation, he said, agreed in one thing and that was the necessity for exact, careful, constructive drawing. "All their artists are great draftsmen. A drawing by Banguereau, Lefebvre, or Paul Baudry is as interesting and as complete as their finished pictures. This ability to represent form is what has placed them so high in sculpture." We can hence perhaps understand how, with the French indifference to the story-telling-sentimental genre of painting he had taken for his own while in America, he should have come to concentrate more and more upon the study of sculpture, the point at which his own innate interests and the current interests of Paris coincided.

He studied sculpture so effectively, mainly under the great Norwegian Sinding, that his first display piece, "Mort du Chef" (the Indian-horse sculpture), attracted great attention at the Salon of 1891, as did his "Scouts" in that of 1892. In both of these Western subjects he displayed characteristic strength. Concerning the showing of sculpture in the salons of 1891, he declares it very fine and superior to the painting. "Sculpture by its very nature is less affected by the fashions and mannerisms of the day. Paris at present is the home of the great living sculptors, and there is no better place to study that art than here. As for painting, I should say there are better men to be influenced by than the Frenchmen."

With gusto he continues: "I send you a photo of my piece of sculpture. It has had a splendid success, having been placed in the row of honor and spoken well of in five of the Parisian papers. It will be cast in bronze as soon as the salon is over, and sent to America. My wife's picture, a life-sized portrait of our large Danish boar-hound, has also been well spoken of in one of the leading art journals of Paris."

He expressed his desire to return to California and Los Angeles, proudly reporting that the American exhibit of painting at the Salon "sums up to eighty-three, eleven of which come from California, and four of these from Los Angeles. This is not a bad beginning for 'Our Italy,' and is the highest percentage coming from any State excepting New York."<sup>126</sup>

Returning to California in 1893, Borglum left again in 1896

## *Art in Los Angeles Before 1900*

for England, coming back in 1901 to reside permanently in America. As noted on earlier pages, he was active in Los Angeles art affairs up to at least 1896. At a local Fine Arts Society exhibition he showed two oils, purchased by Spencer Smith. The *Express* describes them as "‘The Horse Thief’ riding toward you in a clear dark-blue twilight, and ‘Sunny Slope,’ exquisite in the treatment of the greys, with the figure of a shepherd. Mr. Borglum also displays several interesting water colors. One of them, ‘Time Primeval,’ seems at first to be a fog vaguely drifting down over the earth, then as you look at it the fog takes strange spirit shapes, and the light plays through them, falling softly upon the green plain."<sup>127</sup>

At the very turn of the century there came to Los Angeles one of the most unique of our painters, Paul de Longpré, who achieved worldwide fame as a painter of flowers. The outline of his life reads like that of a novel. The son of a French creole and of the Marquis de Longpré, a profligate French nobleman, the boy knew penury and want at an early age. When six he came to Paris after his father had dissipated his rich wife's entire fortune. He began to make money by selling small sketches to his playmates. Later he became a fan decorator. In 1876, aged twenty-two, his first important picture was accepted by the Salon and henceforth he became known as a painter of flowers. Self-taught, he was a versatile eclectic in both oils and water colors, using realist or impressionist technique as the mood demanded.

In the world-wide financial crash of 1893, he lost all his considerable savings in a bank failure and coming to New York with \$900, started his career all over again. For two years he struggled, then came once more generous success, while he worked all summer among his flowers at Short Hill, N. J. Following an operation for brain tumor in 1898, and for good measure suffering a nervous breakdown, he came to Southern California. In Los Angeles he established himself in a temporary studio in a roomy mansion at the corner of Adams and Figueroa, where extensive and well-kept grounds enabled him to satisfy his longing to be always surrounded by flowers. Here as his strength increased he began once more to revel in his chosen work — flower painting. In his studio was a fine collection of his favorite paintings, nearly all of which had been exhibited in Paris, London, or New York and one of which had won the silver medal at the Paris World's Fair in 1889.<sup>128</sup>

By 1901 de Longpré had settled in the foothills in the then new suburb of Hollywood. Here he had built for himself an artistic home, Moorish in design, that later in itself, with its surrounding gardens, brought him world-wide esteem. "It is paradise!" ex-



claimed he. "And these flower beds are gold mines. True, it is far from the recognized world of art, and the community is new, but in time the art world will come to be centered here. But adieu, Monsieur, for I must plant before I can paint!" and the "Roi des Fleurs" was off over his realm with the professional gardener.<sup>129</sup>

In his studio picture gallery was de Longpré's favorite oil painting, that of a cluster of Shasta daisies, white lilac, roses, and syringa, and valued at \$5000. Another interesting picture, in water color, represented a handful of white California poppies, whose originals had been gathered by Madame Modjeska's niece in the canyon near the home of the actress at El Toro, and brought to de Longpré to paint.<sup>130</sup>

De Longpré was found of expressing his thought about art in the form of aphorisms. Some of these as published in the *Inter-Collegian Magazine* are as follows:

"If you love art with all your soul, if you are ready to spend half your life before, if then, getting recognition; if you are willing to suffer privations for many years, then be an artist, and let it be your religion."

"The principle of my life has been: better paint nothing than paint something ugly or uninteresting."

"The highest type of beauty is the highest art."

"Consider money as a help in art, never as a guide."

"Admire talent in whatever school of art it may be."

"The most contemptible vice of an artist is jealousy."<sup>131</sup>

To conclude, we may glance at some of the minor artists and craftsmen in Los Angeles at the close of the century<sup>132</sup> and then view an initiatory performance of the art that was to make Hollywood famous — the motion picture. In what was known as Los Angeles' Little Bohemia, atop Bunker Hill, in 1901, was the studio of Frederika Grosvenor, tapestry painter, interior decorator, and cartoonist (*Puck*, *Judge*, *Life*, and *Truth*). She imitated ably the technique of the Gobelin tapestries for her Los Angeles art patrons, taking her design from European myths and legends. Near her lived Florine Hyer who specialized in "illuminated redwood," where the design is burned into redwood and then painted in harmonized colors. Miss A. M. Wagner was a painter of fine china and porcelain. In 1900 her work won first prize at the California State Fair at Sacramento. A new fine-porcelain works had recently been established in Southern California at Tropic.

Then there was C. Albert Browne, English miniaturist, in Los Angeles since 1892. Prior to arrival here he was in San Francisco for three years where he painted many of its prominent citizens. "The people up there are freer with their money, but not necessar-

## *Art in Los Angeles Before 1900*

ily more artistic than here," said he. In Los Angeles he had painted miniatures, among others, of Mrs. Van Nuys, Mrs. Howell, Mrs. Mark Lewis, and Mrs. I. W. Hellman.

Only one sculptor, Frank F. Stone, had permanent quarters here in 1901. He had been a medallion portraitist in London, two of his famous life subjects being William E. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning. Ill health, however, exiled him to Canada, and to Los Angeles in 1900. The *Times* interviewer found him working on model and designs for the projected Stephen M. White Memorial, in which the statue was to be from seven to eight feet in height. He was asked, "What chance has a sculptor in Los Angeles?" He answered: "The art of sculpture is new here. The work of the sculptor is the last to be understood in a new community. It is too solid, and still, as it were, to attract immediate attention. The artistic difference between the sculptor's product and a piece of factory statuary is not appreciated. Many people turn away at the thought of paying twenty dollars for an example of my work, and say, 'Why, we can buy as large a statue downtown for five dollars.'"

As an example of the lifelikeness of his portrait work, Stone showed a photograph of a draped bust. The subject had died without having consented to be photographed, but had been one of the sculptor's sitters. The relatives being distressed at not having a likeness in anything but stone, the artist draped the bust and made a profile photograph of it, using chalk to produce the shadings for face and hair. The result was said to be so lifelike as to deceive even the careful observer.

A unique description of the performance of early motion pictures is given by the *Times* in its issue of March 11, 1899. "Only two more electro-magnetograph performances of the Spanish bullfight will be given at Hazard's Pavilion, tonight and tomorrow night. There are many scenes in the performance besides the bullfight, and all are accompanied by appropriate music. There are intermissions between the different parts of the exhibition, during which the audience may promenade on either side of the large hall, while the orchestra furnishes music.

"The electro-magnetic exhibition opens with the representation of a storm at Catalina Island, which is preceded by several musical selections. Following the storm scene is the representation of a man and woman feeding pigeons in the streets of Venice. Between the representations of 'Cattle Fording the Sacramento River,' and 'Shooting the Chutes at the Sutro Baths in San Francisco,' is a stereoptican exhibition of pictures in colors. There are



many other moving pictures shown, among them that of 'The Victorius Squadron Entering the Harbor of New York.'


"Finally there is the exhibition of 'The Man in the Moon, or The Astronomer's Dream.' The alchemist is asleep in his chair in the observatory. He dreams a most wonderful conglomeration of affairs and events, all of which are vividly represented in moving pictures on the canvas. This and 'The Great London Fire' scenes are second only in interest to the bull fight."

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# The Old Temescal Road

By Janet Williams Gould

HERE ARE NEWSPAPER NOTICES being cherished by young lads, Boy Scouts are planning treks to painted rocks and ancient Indian burial grounds, while pretty young girls are pasting in scrapbooks pictures of themselves in quaint 1860 costumes such as Overland Stage travellers wore. Coronans on vacation trips are stopping along the highways to read historical markers in order to compare them with the one they recently helped dedicate. All this because on May 9, 1959, a historical plaque was placed near the entrance to Glen Ivy Hotel, which told the story of the Old Temescal Road and the region it traversed, and a fascinating saga in Southern California history became a vivid thing.

For some years it had seemed to the writer that all knowledge of this intriguing story was being lost as people travelled what was to them simply Highway 71. It is true that other plaques, four of them to be exact, had marked historic spots near by, but some of these had become inaccessible through rank undergrowth, the placing of fences, or the depredations of treasure hunters.

So with the help of Aubrey Neasham, State Historian, the State Park Commission, and the sponsorship of the Woman's Improvement Club of Corona, whose president is a granddaughter of a Corona founder and whose chairman of History and Landmarks is the writer, this dream was realized.

The day was a perfect one, with the blue Santa Ana mountains and the old live oaks near historic Glen Ivy forming a perfect background. When excavations for an addition to the original hotel building were being made, many metates and vessels were found, relics of the Gabrieleño and Luiseño Indians whose villages were here. Not far away is the painted rock which Luiseños from Temecula identified as their record, while an inscription on a nearby carved rock signified the death and burial of a chief. According to the sayings of old men as embodied in the records taken under the direction of the University of California, these primitive people had an amazing and esoteric religion and a belief that the Milky Way was the Ghost Road in the sky and a faith in the resurrection, arguing that if Ouit, the moon, died and rose again, so would mankind.

However, it was to keep these Indians quiet that Leandro Serano, as early as 1818, was sent to Temescal Valley by the padres of



San Luis Rey Mission. Leandro's father, born in Spain, had come to California with Father Serra and had been major domo at San Luis Rey Mission as well as at Pala and San Juan Capistrano. At this time he was living at the Presidio of San Diego, having married Presentacion Yorba, sister of Don Bernardo Yorba whose holdings later stretched from El Temescal to the present resort of Newport.

According to Rose Ellerbe, a writer of distinction who made a special study of this family and knew the survivors, Leandro first built his corrals, planted olive and pear trees, brought in his cattle and dug his tanning vats during the next few years, though it was not until 1820 that he built his adobe home. When Dolores Serrano, his daughter, then about ninety, was brought from Los Angeles by Rose Ellerbe and Frank Rolfe who were placing a bronze plaque to identify the site of this home, the spade digging for the foundation struck the first hearthstone of the first home of a settler of Caucasian blood in Riverside County.

As time went on, his sons built houses on the opposite side of the road and as late as the nineteen twenties there were crumbling ruins of one of these left, and an old olive tree was still standing. A pathetic story in California history is one concerning this family. They were allowed only a few acres around their home when the Federal Land Commission in 1858 decided that they had only a permission to graze and not a true grant. Besides, Leandro, who died in 1853, had lost his "piece of paper" as he termed it, and the fact the family had lived there and maintained a ranch for thirty years had not weighed enough to change the decision. That this property was near the Temescal Tin Mine, then thought to be immensely valuable, may have explained why not long after the decision this land became added to the holdings of some very prominent families not far away. At any rate Major Horace Bell felt so keenly the injustice done this family that he gave the survivors a home in Los Angeles.

In the Reminiscences of J. J. Warner of Warner's Ranch there is an account of a trip taken by him and David Jackson over this old route in 1831 when they went to San Francisco to purchase 100 horses and 600 mules.

Mrs. Charles Compton, whose English husband was an early settler in Temescal, gave the writer a picture of an old live oak tree, even then falling into decay, which stood by this roadside. This was called the Frémont Oak because it was here the explorer was said to have camped when he came by this route in April, 1849. He was returning from Washington, D.C., where his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Benton, had furnished him with supplies for his newly

## *The Old Temescal Road*

bought ranch at Mariposa, and with him were travelling the men who were to do the work for him. It was then this former pathfinder, used to lonely ways, met so many people coming his way that he asked what was bringing them westward. "There's gold in Alta California," they cried, "gold!"

Soon this road he traversed became the Southern Emigrant Road for gold seekers and would-be settlers who came from Fort Yuma by way of Warner's Ranch, Temecula, La Grande (Elsinore), and afterward went via the Rincon and Issac Williams ranch at Chino to Los Angeles and the north. There are extant many interesting records of this road when it became the route of the Overland Mail Stages from 1858 until the war made it unsafe after 1861. The site of the old stage station in Temescal, where food could be had and horses were changed, was marked in 1934 when old men were present who remembered the use of the stable's crumbling ruins. The adobe dwelling where the travellers stopped had stood until about the year 1926, shaded by a very large pepper tree.

This famous old road was a military road during the civil war and muskets were found along the way, some of them no doubt being lost when rifles were hauled from San Pedro to Arizona. In the volumes of the *War of the Rebellion* published in 1865 by Daniel Lamont, Secretary of War, there are interesting accounts in the reports of Major W. Scott Ketchum of the marches of the Fourth U.S. Infantry, their route being from Fort Latham near Los Angeles and by way of this road to Temecula Rancho and Oak Grove where the Knights of the Golden Circle were confiscating Union supplies. The same volumes tell of the Pursuit and Capture of the Showalter Party at Camp Wright near Warner's Ranch by the First Infantry of California Volunteers marching over this road from Camp Latham under Lt. Col. J. R. West.

The above history was told in brief by the writer just after her grandson Greg Dean and Marilyn Teague, daughter of the club president, had unveiled the handsome bronze tablet hidden before under the California Bear Flag.

There was an invocation first by the Reverend Nicholas Kouletis of St. John's Episcopal Church in Corona. Then a salute to the flag led by Scoutmaster Robert K. Kilian and his two Boy Scout sons, John and Jerry. Mrs. Gertrude Harriman of Hemet, member of the State Park Commission brought greetings from the body and expressed their pleasure at being able to bring about occasions like this one.

Then Mrs. Teague introduced George Whitney of Upland, a member of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, who spoke



very forcefully on the importance of marking historic spots such as this one correctly while he regretted the mis-use of California's past happenings by some amusement parks. As he spoke eloquently of the mountains which were there when the horses galloped by and the wheels turned, it recreated the past for the hearers.

The music on this occasion was especially appropriate. Yvonne Holtman, born in Paris of a family connected diplomatically with Spain, sang "Estrellita" in the language of Castile. The clear tenor voice of David Kisselburgh was heard in the songs of the gold seekers and miners of Forty Nine in "Oh Susanna" and "My Darling Clementine," the audience joining in the choruses, as Garh Amaron strummed his guitar.

The son of the writer, W. Manley Dean, undertook the construction of the monument and brought native stone for it from the canyons of Glen Ivy.

Now, with historic import, it stands in immobile beauty so that all may read the inscription:

## THE TEMESCAL ROAD

THIS ROUTE WAS USED BY GABRIELENO AND LUISENO INDIANS WHOSE VILLAGES WERE NEAR BY. LEANDRO SERRANO ESTABLISHED THERE THE FIRST HOME OF A WHITE SETTLER IN RIVERSIDE COUNTY IN 1820. OVER IT TRAVELLED JACKSON AND WARNER IN 1831 AND FREMONT IN 1849. IT WAS THE SOUTHERN EMIGRANT ROAD FOR GOLD SEEKERS, 1849-1851; THE OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE, 1858-1860; AND A MILITARY ROAD BETWEEN LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO, 1861-1865.

CALIFORNIA REGISTERED HISTORICAL  
LANDMARK NO. 638

PLAQUE PLACED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE  
PARK COMMISSION IN COOPERATION WITH  
THE WOMAN'S IMPROVEMENT CLUB OF  
CORONA, MAY 9, 1959.



*(Continued from the June QUARTERLY)*

*A portfolio series of charcoal drawings of the  
California Missions by*

FRANK A. SCHILLING

PART III

*(Conclusion)*



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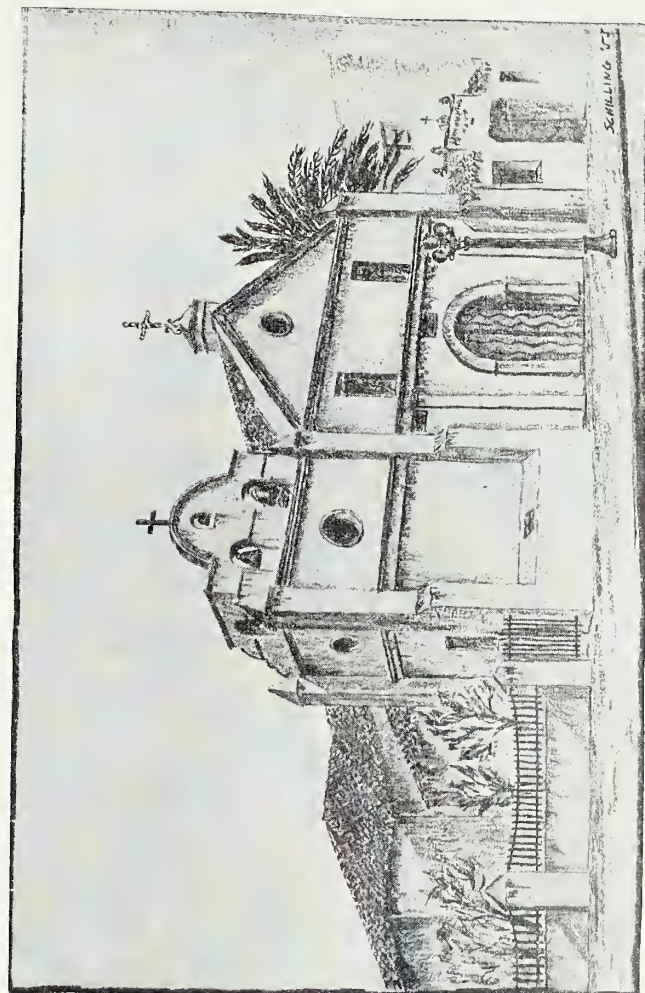
(Continued from the June QUARTERLY)

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SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPANA





SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA

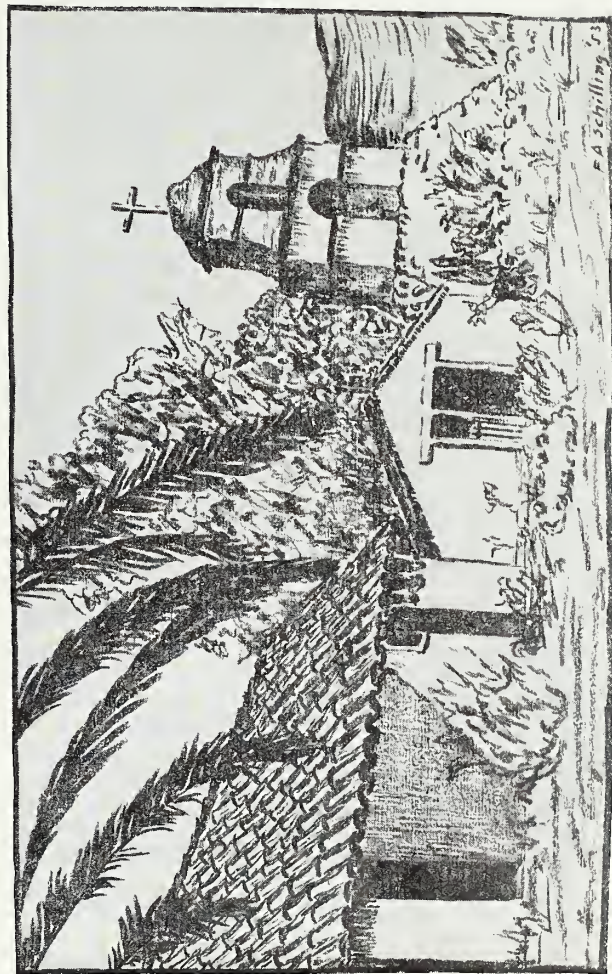




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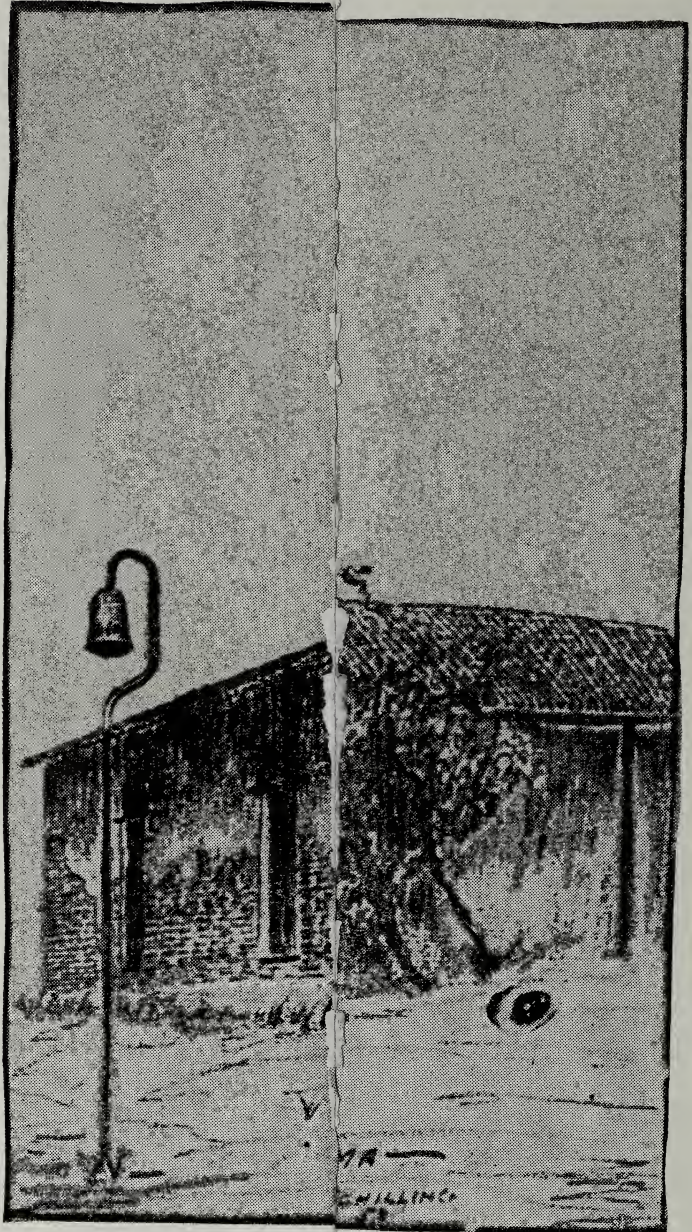
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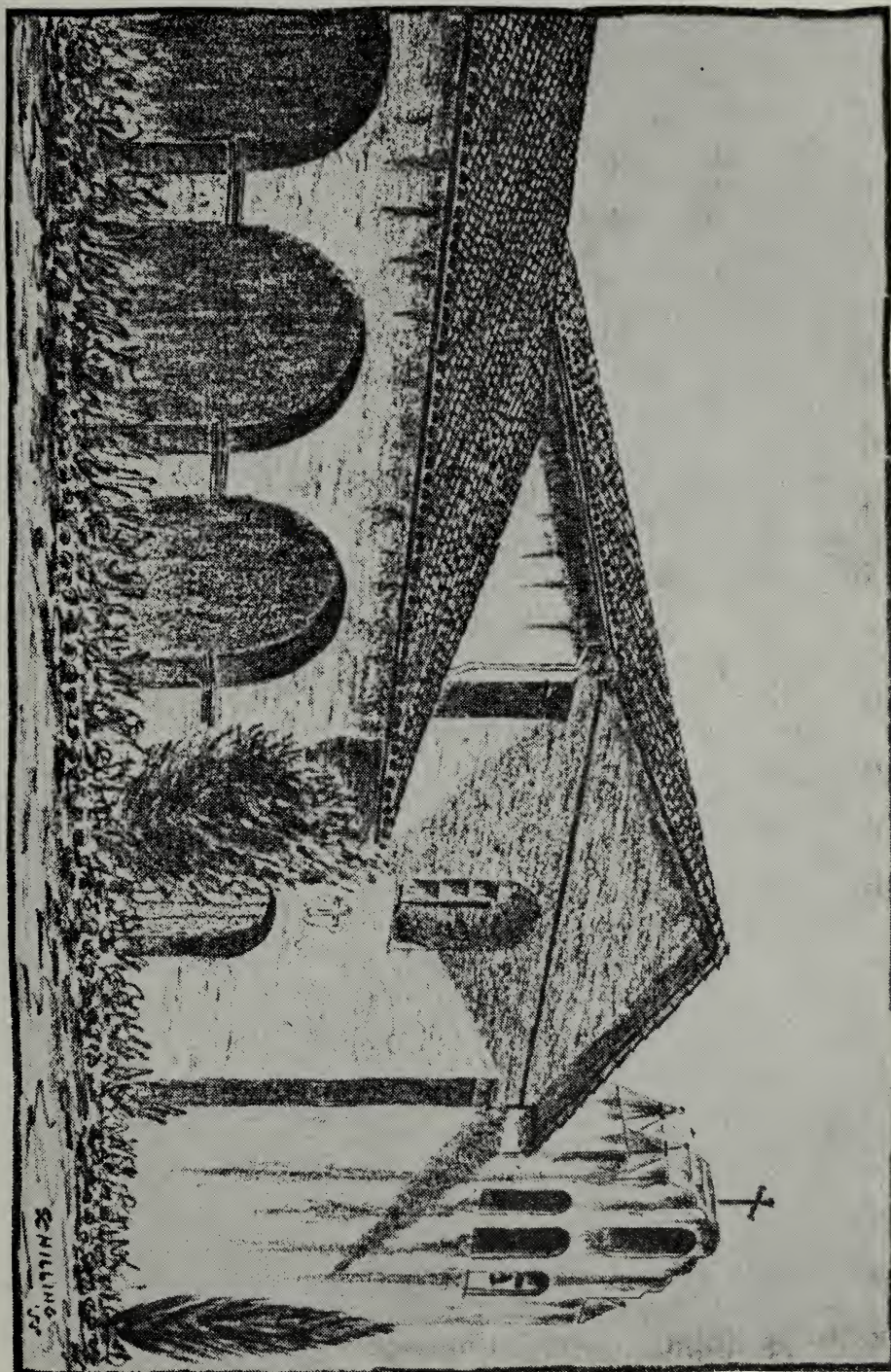
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(Asistencia to Mission San Luis Rey)



NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

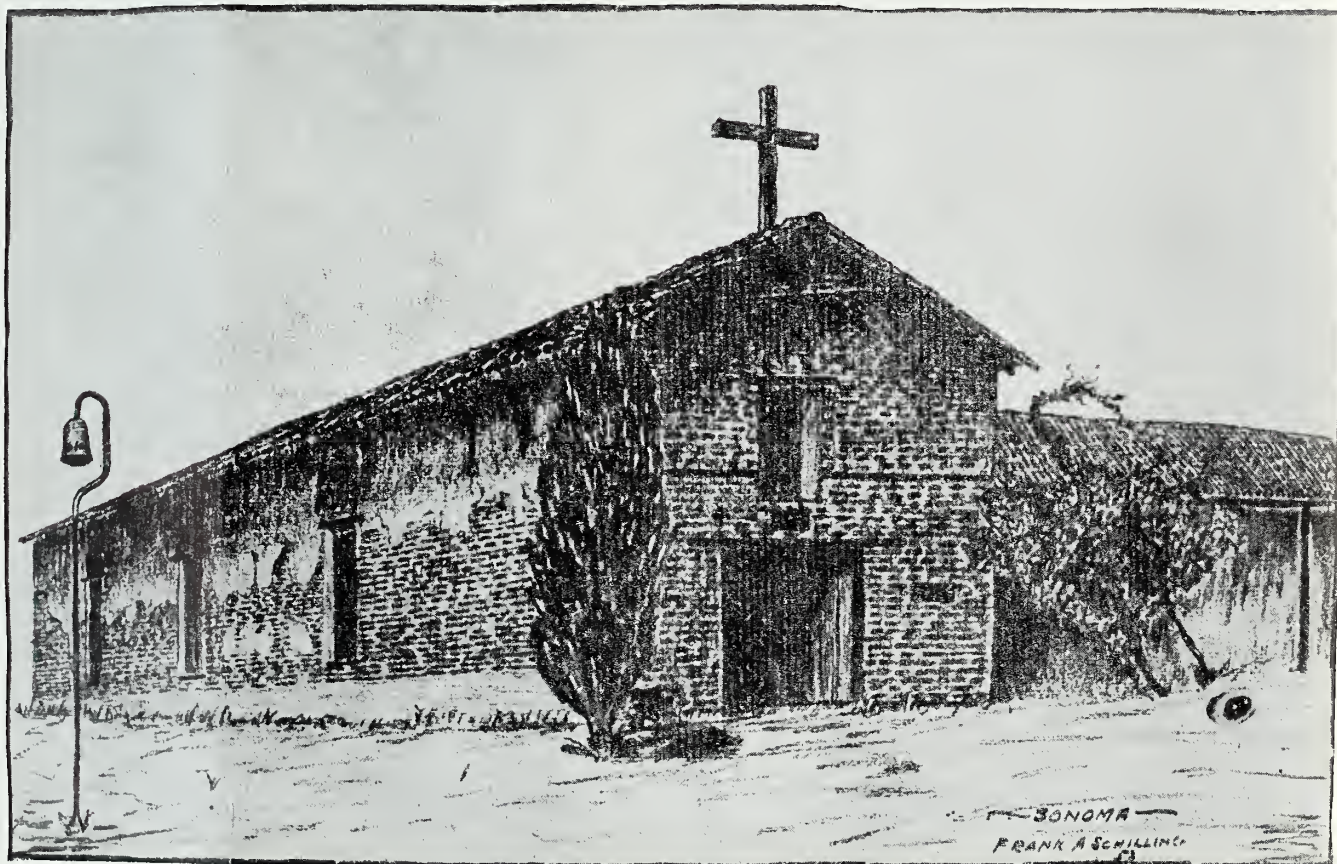






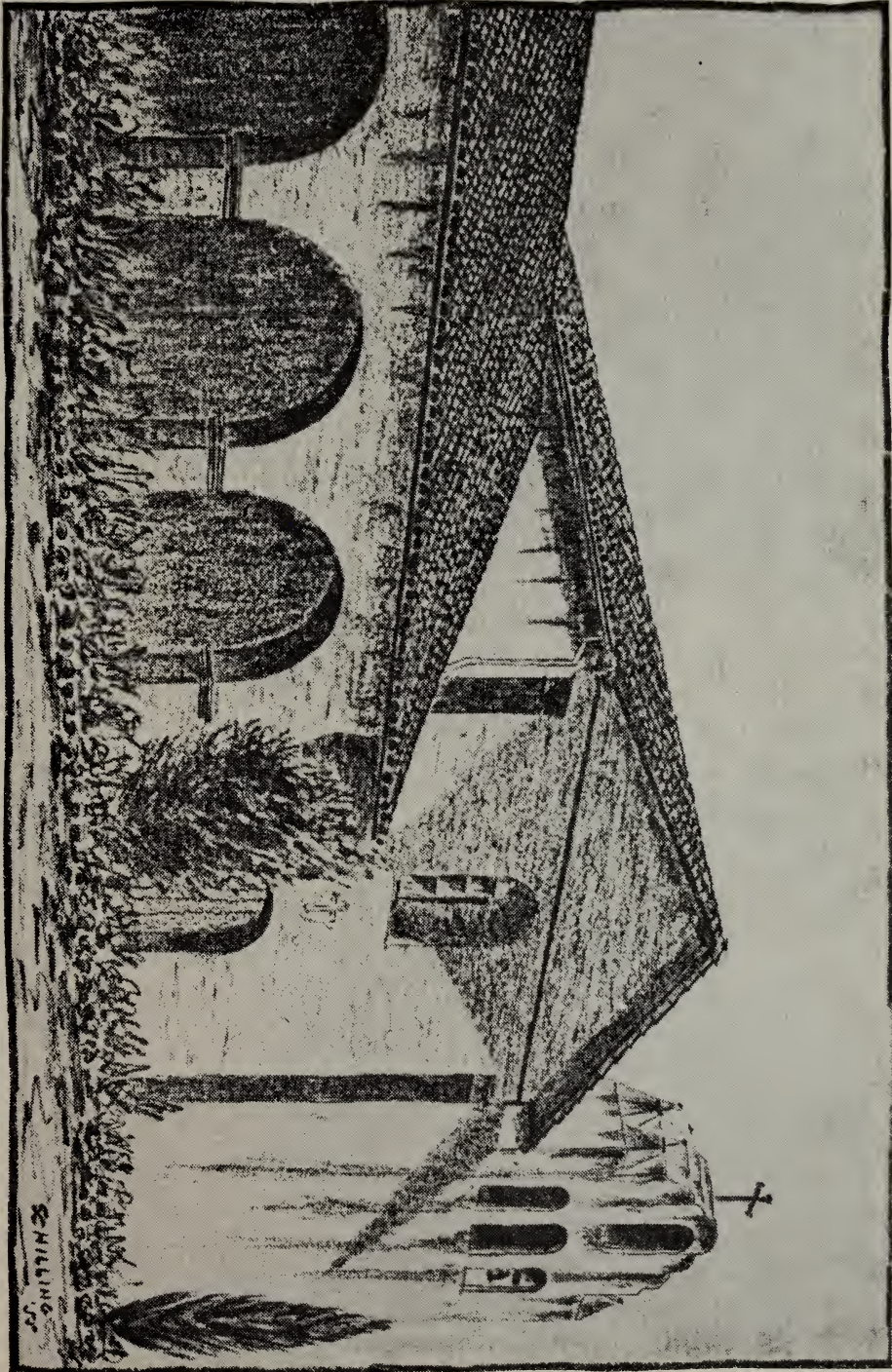
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SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO  
(Sonoma)





SANTA YNEZ VIRGIN Y MARTIR





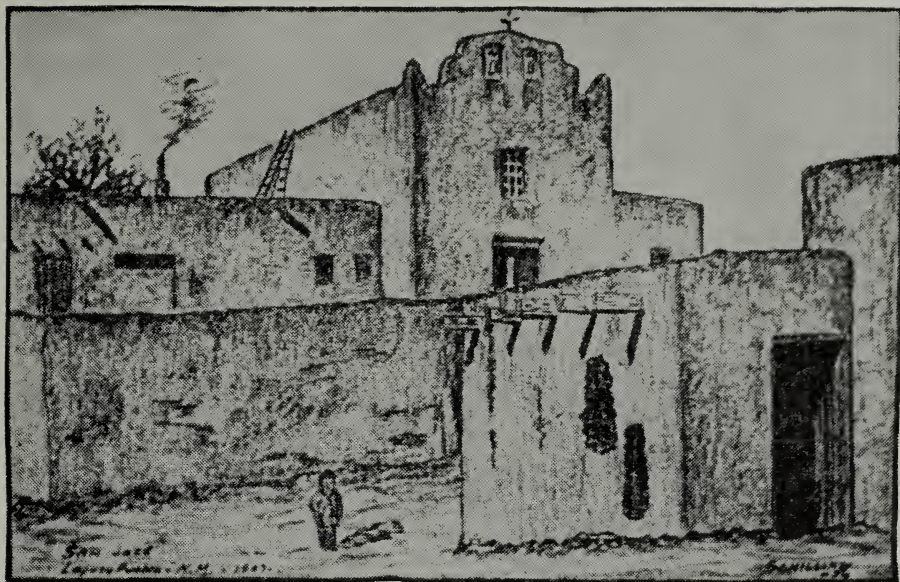
GARCES MONUMENT  
Yuma, Arizona



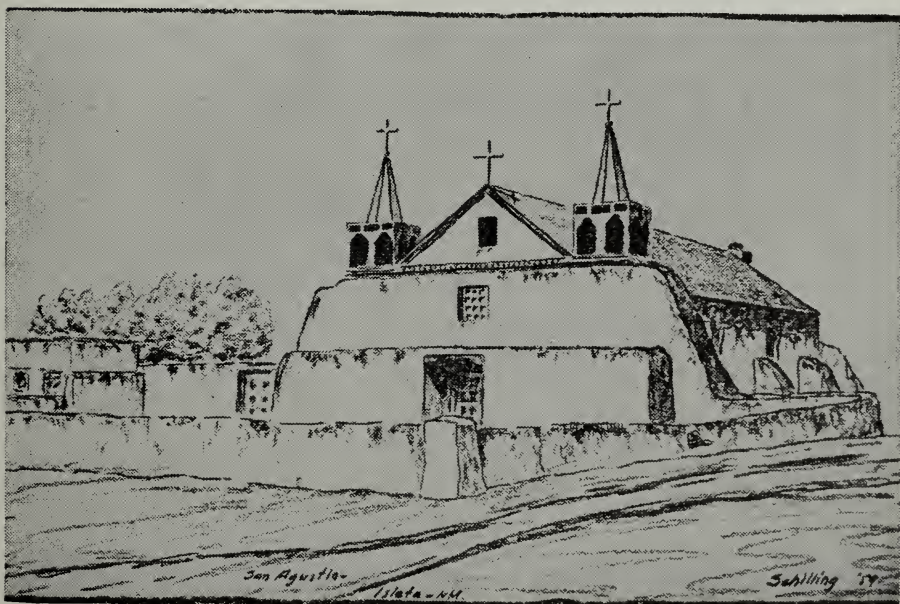
SAN JOSE DE TUMACACORI, ARIZONA



*Mission Sketchbook*



SAN JOSE  
Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico



SAN AGUSTIN  
Isleta, New Mexico





SAN IGNACIO, SONORA, MEXICO



## Book Reviews

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540-1861 (in two volumes) by Carl Irving Wheat. (San Francisco, *The Institute of Historical Cartography*, 1958.)  
VOLUME I: *The Spanish "Entrada" to the Louisiana Purchase*; Pp. xiv; 264; maps, *illus.*, Index. \$60.00. VOLUME II: *From Lewis and Clark to Frémont*; Pp. xiv; 282; maps, *illus.*, Index. \$60.00.

Some of the finest and most important writing on the history of Western America has been done by "non-professionals." The names of Bancroft, Chittenden, Hittell, Howay, and Wagner give the cue as to the quality of work done by men who were historians by avocation and whose chief professional concern lay in other fields. Among this distinguished group, Carl Irving Wheat deserves a high place. During the course of a long and successful legal career, Mr. Wheat has taken the time to study and write on many aspects of Western American history. It is all to the good that men who do not make their livings at the writing and teaching of history should have the interest not only to read the subject but also to carry on significant writing and research on it. The interchange between the "professional" and the "non-professional" which results from this can only be stimulating and fruitful. All students of history have reason to be grateful to the historian-by-avocation, and those who have any concern with the history of North America in general and the Western United States in particular will wish to give Mr. Wheat highest praise for the monumental study of which the first two volumes are now under review.

In his undertaking to trace the mapping of the region which lies within the present United States west of the Mississippi, Mr. Wheat has projected a series of five volumes. The first of these covers a long period — over four times greater than the time span of the other four — but one in which the events of cartographic interest were comparatively few in number. It opens with the *entrada* of Coronado into the region in 1540 and carries through until the eve of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1803. This period of over two hundred and fifty years saw the penetration of the region by the Spaniards from the south and by the English and French from the north and northeast. It witnessed the travels of such great explorers as Kino, Anza, and Mackenzie, and by the end of it the general outline of the area, especially at its fringes, was known.

Volume II has a much shorter span than its predecessor —



1804 to 1845 — but it covers what might be called the “heroic age” of the exploration of Western America. The first half of the nineteenth century was the period in which the essential character of the region became known, and in which its major rivers and mountains, its deserts and fertile plains, were visited and mapped. There still remained much to be done in 1845 before the American West would be thoroughly explored and described, but the most important features have been identified and fitted into maps. Lewis and Clark, Pike, Long, Smith, Bonneville, Thompson, Ogden, Gregg, Wilkes, Emory, Fremont, and others of their kind were the men of this period who explored and mapped the Transmississippi West. It was a work of Army and Navy officers, trappers, traders, and missionaries. Although they seldom operated in conscious cooperation, over the years in which they were in the region they produced a generally clear and correct picture of its character.

In both of these volumes, Mr. Wheat has carried forward the main stream of narrative in a series of chapters. In these he has placed the explorations of Western America and the mapping of the region in a broad setting. The forces which impelled Europeans to penetrate the area are considered, and the events of the important expeditions are recounted. Mr. Wheat goes on to describe the maps which resulted from these journeys, and to trace the relation of the prime maps which came from the hand of this or that explorer to those which copied them in whole or in part and which sometimes misconstrued their meanings. Thus the cartographic study extends from the journeys themselves and their recording on maps to the construction of maps of the same region but in other parts of the world and by other men. The narrative text of each volume is really a complete and well-rounded history of the exploration and economic exploitation of the region as well as of its mapping.

Following the narrative text in each volume is a “bibliocartography” which fills approximately 70 pages. Here the significant maps lying within the purview of the volume in question — some 500 in all for the two volumes — are described in detail. Marginal references in the narrative text to map numbers in the bibliocartography make it possible to use these two parts of the work together conveniently. Volume I contains 50 reproductions of maps discussed, and in volume II there are 58 such reproductions. Each volume contains an index.

The books were designed by the Grabhorns, and they printed volume I. Volume II came from the press of Taylor and Taylor of San Francisco. Both books are typographically outstanding. The maps in volume I vary in their quality of reproduction, some of

### *Book Reviews*

them verging on the unsatisfactory. In volume II the quality of map reproduction is considerably improved, although in some instances the maps have been so reduced in size that a magnifying glass is needed to study them.

Mr. Wheat brings to this magnificently conceived and executed work a sound and thorough knowledge of the subject, keen insight into the problems, intentions, and experiences of the explorers and cartographers whom he describes, and a lively and infectuous enthusiasm for the whole subject. These are books which not only belong on the shelves of every library which has aspirations to excellence in things Western, but also serve as a continuing delight and stimulus to the reader with an interest in the region. There are no bounds to the admiration of this reviewer for the courage, determination, and unswerving devotion to the pursuit of the facts and their meaning which has characterized Mr. Wheat's work on these volumes. The appearance of the remaining volumes of this noble and important work is to be anticipated eagerly. — *John Haskell Kemble*.

LIFE OF FRAY ANTONIO MARGIL, O.F.M., by Eduardo Enrique Rios, translated and revised by Benedict Leutenegger, O.F.M. (Washington, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959). Pp. xiii, 159 inc. bibliography and index.

Antonio Margil, Franciscan priest and subject of this biography, contributed materially to the spiritual progress of New Spain in the late 17th and early 18th century. This book is a satisfactory translation of Rios' 1941 work done in Mexico in 1,000 copies. Subsequently, another printing of 500 copies appeared with no appreciable change in text or accompanying materials. To these original editions Father Leutenegger's translation adds some footnote material and has a more comprehensive index, but lacks some of the pictorial material of the Spanish language versions.

This brief study chronicles the colorful career of Antonio Margil de Jesús. Born in Valencia, Spain, in 1657, he received the habit of his order in 1673. Stimulated by the vision of the mission field in America as presented by Father Antonio Llinás, Father Margil became one of a dozen Franciscans who constituted the nucleus for the foundation of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. Two of his companions at that time were to become well-known names in Texas history, Fathers Francisco Hidalgo and Damián Massanet.

Margil, in his ministry in Hispanic North America, was a leading example of devotion, piety, and self-effacement. His desire to lessen self, even to the point where he referred to his own person as "Nothingness Itself," has, paradoxically, won for Margil lasting fame and earthly recognition.



The story of Margil's life is liberally interspersed with miracles and examples of priestly self-sacrifice. Though he courted martyrdom, this glory escaped him, dying instead of old age and illness. Meanwhile he had trodden the paths and wildernesses of Yucatan, Oaxaca, the modern Central America countries of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, and as far south as Cartago, Costa Rica.

Only once did this pious Franciscan's labors meet with complete rebuff, in 1710-12 when he attempted a spiritual conquest of the west Mexican province of Nayarit, where local Indians would have nothing to do with Christian doctrine. Otherwise, his influence on behalf of Catholicism, as demonstrated through both his life and his teaching, was customarily received with appreciation by Indians and whites alike.

To the northward of his home base at Querétaro, the intrepid Franciscan had travelled to Zacatecas, Durango, Saltillo, Monterrey, and on into Texas. Only a dozen pages tell of Margil's life and work in Texas (1716-1722), and recount briefly the ups and downs of this early mission activity, a characteristic of which was the frequent abandonment of marginal missions. But Margil's work, coupled with international factors, resulted in the permanent occupation of Texas.

The book is well-printed, and constitutes another link in the lengthening chain of monographs and documentary studies published by the Academy of American Franciscan History, many of which deal with California or the American West. — *Donald C. Cutter.*

SIX MONTHS IN THE GOLD MINES: FROM A JOURNAL OF THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE IN UPPER AND LOWER CALIFORNIA, 1847-8-9, *by* E. Gould Buffum. *Edited* with an *Introduction* by John W. Caughey. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1959). Pp. xxiii, 145. Half-cloth, heavy transparent jacket. \$5.00.

The reviewer must explain that this is his first attempt to comment in print on a book of California history, a field in which he has only a recreational, not even an avocational, experience. The deadline was at hand; the eye of the *QUARTERLY's* editor fell on a librarian, that breed which will always snap up an opportunity to examine a new book in public or in private.

Students of California history, librarians, and general readers are indebted to John W. Caughey, for editing, and to Ward Ritchie, for publishing, an attractive reprint of Buffum's important contemporary account of the early (he was a 'forty-eighter rather than a 'forty-niner) California gold rush. The first (1850) edition, in a black cloth binding, was published by Lea and Blanchard in Phila-

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delphia, the author's introduction being dated "San Francisco, January 1st, 1850." In the same year, the English edition was published in London by Richard Bentley, the introduction being dated "May, 1850." The London edition, somewhat smaller in size but with the same text, was bound in green cloth. The 1959 Los Angeles edition (which, in its bright gold and black checkered boards, will be readily distinguished from its predecessors) is apparently the first reprint since 1850; although the Holliday sale catalog lists a copy as though it were published in Philadelphia, 1852. I have found no other reference to an 1852 edition, and suspect an error in the Holliday catalog which also misspells Buffum's name as "Buffem." In any case, the 1850 edition, whether Philadelphia or London, is becoming a very scarce book which today would cost at least five times as much as the new reprint. Most persons will prefer to read or own the new book, containing the full and identical text, because it includes Professor Caughey's excellent introduction and because it is superior in format and general book quality, the work of one of America's greatest modern book designers and printers. Serious scholars will still want to examine the first edition; and sophisticated collectors of California will *have* to own the Philadelphia 1850 and the Los Angeles 1959 editions, adding the London 1850 if they wish to be complete, and they will undoubtedly have already verified whether there actually was an 1852 printing in Philadelphia.

Buffum's book was noticed favorably the year it was first published. For example, in *The Quarterly Review* for 1850 (Vol. 87, No. 174) there appeared an unsigned article entitled "Siberia and California" which was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* for December 7, 1850 (Vol. 27, No. 324). The article opens with a list of 18 books, including Buffum (spelled Buffam) and several other Californi agold rush reports. Here is one of the comments on *Six Months in the Gold Mines*:

In referring to the little work of Mr. Buffam [*sic*] one of the last of the flying sheets from the Dorado which we have seen) we have reason to think that he describes faithfully what he saw, and although, as geologists, we might sharply criticize his vision of the gold having been ejected from *volcanos*, we will merely say that the book may be read to advantage by those who will ponder upon the mishaps as well as the enticements offered to gold adventurers.

Buffum is then commended for his suggestion that the United States purchase Lower California from Mexico.

... and thus legalize an occupation which sooner or later is inevitable.



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Bentley's *Catalog* for 1850 suggests that the British publisher valued the book he had just issued because it was a California piece, not simply a gold rush narrative:

Besides its practical information regarding the country, the work gives some glimpses of life at the diggings.

California bibliographers and historians have recognized the importance of Buffum's account. Robert Cowan, in the 1914 edition of his *Bibliography*, notes:

This officer had ability and education, and his book forms one of the chiefest sources of authority for the history of the period.

Carl Wheat in his *Literature of the Gold Rush* identifies Buffum's book as

. . . one of the earliest authentic accounts of the diggings . . .

Southern California specialists have valued the work of Buffum because it refers to their area, and he was one of the gold rush reporters who was also in Los Angeles during his California tour. But by far the most careful and complete comment on E. Gould Buffum and the significance of his California book is found in John Caughey's introduction to the 1959 reprint which we are considering. This introduction is exactly right — not so long and detailed as to overpower the book it introduces, but still complete, compressed (only 13 pages), and in the easy, graceful style which has made Professor Caughey outstanding among scholarly historians. The Caughey introduction alone would justify reprinting *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, even if there were copies of the 1850 edition to be found readily at \$5.00 or less.

One is hard put to find any flaws in this book, as seems to be required in the final paragraph of a review, but I shall make an effort to follow the great tradition. Professor Caughey might have mentioned that the married name of Elizabeth Buffum, E. Gould Buffum's rather famous sister, was Chace (pp. xii-xiii) — not that it matters much. The three page references in the last paragraph of the editor's introduction (p. xxiii) are a little confusing; to find these references in the text of the 1959 edition, one must add 12 in each case. In editing, Professor Caughey has introduced no changes in the text except corrections of such routine errors as "Los Angeles" for "Los Angeles," etc. Errors of fact (three examples are cited, p. xxiii) and predictions by Buffum which have not been realized are not corrected, nor do I think they should have been. For readers not expert in California history and geography, perhaps Professor Caughey should have pointed out, by means of editor's footnotes,

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the errors which are not obvious. My little criticisms, after all, do not amount to much. The big thing is that John Caughey has shown the value, importance, and reliability of a very entertaining early California narrative; and Ward Ritchie has made it available at a low price in a handsome and durable reprint. — *Andrew H. Horn.*

FROM WILDERNESS TO EMPIRE, by Robert Glass Cleland. Edited by Glenn S. Dumke. (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, N.Y., 1959), 445 pp. \$6.95.

Without question the late Robert Glass Cleland was one of the two or three most important historians of California. He spent a long lifetime interpreting, analyzing, and charting the major trends of the state's colorful past. Now his former student and colleague of Occidental College days, Glenn Schroeder Dumke, has revised and updated two of Cleland's best books, placing both within one volume. There are the former *From Wilderness to Empire, A History of California, 1542-1900* and *California In Our Time*, now published together as a combined and revised edition.

Compression of any two books into one is bound to result in some dilution of the material. The difficulties of editing are, furthermore, compounded when the books are those of another author. Any later editor is, thus, placed under considerable handicap as to selection of precisely what must be cut as well as re-tailored and reshaped. He can, of course, add but little new data because of the rigid confines of space imposed by his job. Despite these restrictions, it is satisfying to see Cleland's work in print once more, and in typographical format that is appealing. Some of the old Cleland magic of expression still comes through to the reader, despite the fact that a decade and a half have passed since some of this material was first written. His skill, as both teacher and writer, perpetuated in this book, is not likely to be forgotten for a long time to come. Dumke has added several chapters of his own; one regarding modern California brings the book up to the present. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

LOS ANGELES FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO, by W. W. Robinson. (California Historical Society, San Francisco, 1959.) 96 pp. Paper, \$1.50; cloth, \$4.00.

Opportunities are growing for the millions of newcomers to Los Angeles to pick up recently and popularly written little histories and easily learn something about the story of the city. The year so far has seen the appearance of at least three such works. Ed Ainsworth's *Enchanted Pueblo* (published by a great bank) and Bill Murphy's *Los Angeles, Wonder City of the West* (frankly produced



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for the tourist trade) are meeting a cultural need as well as serving their commercial purposes.

Now comes a third by one of "our own," W. W. Robinson, who is a director of the *Historical Society of Southern California* and a member of its Special Publications Committee. His *Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo*, just published in the Bay Area by the California Historical Society, is the most detailed of the trio.

Without a foreword to guide him, the beginning reader should be sure to bring Robinson's purpose into focus by noting the full title page, which reads: *Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo, together with a Guide to the Historic Old Plaza Area including the Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historical Monument*. It also is helpful to know that the author's experiences as former officer of a large title insurance company, for which he wrote a series of historical sketches of various Southern California communities and counties, gives him special qualification for, and interest in, tracing the history of real property ownership in this area from rancho days.

With this background the reader is likely to find the book satisfying for what it is: a rather complete handbook on the Los Angeles Plaza and environs, together with a concluding chapter on recent and projected development of the area as a State Historical Monument. The emphasis is on the story of the land and its buildings — most of the latter now gone but a few remaining and being, at last, preserved or restored — with the main thread of the story carried down to about 1880. The historian pays particular attention to relating the old trails, streets and buildings to the present-day city, and this is a valuable service of interest to the native son and the adopted citizen alike.

The composite map of the original central area of Los Angeles, with its 61 footnotes, is excellent. There are 63 other illustrations, including seven reproductions in full color of paintings of rancho era subjects.—*Robert W. King*.

## *Activities of the Society*

### **LOS ANGELES' BIRTHDAY FIESTA**

The *Historical Society of Southern California*, after observing its usual two vacation months of July and August, began its fall activities by assisting materially in the official civic observance of the City of Los Angeles' 178th Birthday which took place on Friday, September 4, 1959, at the Old Plaza.

Mayor Norris Poulson again selected Dr. Arlt to act as chairman of the *Los Angeles Birthday Fiesta Committee* in honor of the 178th Birthday of *El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora la Reina de Los Angeles*. With the able assistance of his committee, a splendid program was arranged. Several members of the Society's Board of Directors served on the committee.

The celebration was off to a fine start at 9:30 a.m. with a television show at which time Dr. Arlt and other distinguished guests outlined some of the early history of the Pueblo of Our Lady, Queen of the Angels, and invited the residents of Los Angeles to participate in the program planned for the evening.

The *Historical Society of Southern California* had the only booth in the Plaza. Our exhibits with their bright red background, plus a Los Angeles City Map of 1884, displayed outside the booth, contributed much to the day's festivities.

We wish to express our sincere thanks of Walter J. Escherich, Sr., Edward Hughes, and Norman Woest, all of whom showed slide pictures of early-day Los Angeles. Hundreds of people were drawn to our booth to watch the continuous show.

As in the past, the Southern Pacific train arrived at the Plaza from the River Station, bringing about 250 guests, many of whom were in period costume.



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Dr. Arlt, presiding at the Birthday Ceremony, introduced the honored guests. The Honorable John S. Gibson, Jr., acting mayor, spoke briefly.

Miss Elena Verdugo, enacting the role of *Miss Los Angeles*, read the *Romance of Our Pueblo* to her honored platform guests — *Miss Hawaii* and *Master Alaska*. The program featured the famed "Barbarettes" dancers in a tribute to Alaska, the 49th State, and Napua, with a troupe of Hawaiian singers and dancers, honored the Admission of their beloved group of islands as the 50th State.

The Society's booth was operated by Margaret J. Cassidy, executive secretary, with the assistance of Directors Carver and Morrison and Mrs. Carver and Mrs. Morrison. Mr. and Mrs. Everett Gordon Hager and Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Northrop and their son, Larry, assisted Friday morning with setting up the displays and Joseph Northrop helped in dismantling the booth and returning the property to our headquarters.

#### CHANGE OF MEETING NIGHT

As we are no longer permitted to hold our Society meetings at the Los Angeles County Museum on Tuesday nights, President Arlt suggested a questionnaire be sent to all members to determine the most favorable night for meetings. The results indicated that more people could attend on the *first* Wednesday of each month than any of the other nights listed in the questionnaire. Dr. Arlt has informed the Museum of our new meeting night. The Society will have to meet in the old Education Lecture Hall for the next three months. The new wing of the Museum will not be ready until after the first of the year.

## Gifts to the Society

*In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.*

*The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.*

*Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.*

MARCO R. NEWMARK,  
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

MR. AND MRS. EVERETT GORDON HAGER — Two copies of the Golden Anniversary Edition of *San Pedro News Pilot*. Mr. and Mrs. Hager prepared the feature historical article which begins with Cabrillo's discovery in 1542 of the Bay of San Pedro and carries through to 1920.

HOWELL-NORTH PRESS — Lithographic reproduction of Thompson and West's *History of Los Angeles County, California*, with illustrations and an Introduction by W. W. Robinson.

LEWIS R. SUTIN, Albuquerque, New Mexico — In memory of his wife Eloise Brown Sutin: *History of the Los Alamos Jewish Center, Los Alamos, New Mexico* (1944 to 1957) by Abraham I. Shinedling.

ESTATE OF LEON HUHNER — Six volumes of the literary works of the late Leon Huhner: *Jews in America in Colonial and Revolutionary Times*; *Jews in America After the American Revolution*; *Essays and Addresses*; *A Book of Songs and Sonnets*; *Ballads and Stories in Verse*; *The Quest for Happiness* (A play). Memorial volumes published by Gertz Bros., New York, 1959.



## New Members

The Officers and Board of Directors of the *Historical Society of Southern California* take pleasure in welcoming forty-six new members who have joined the Society during the third quarter of this year. The new members are:

### LIFE

Mrs. Alphonzo E. Bell  
(from PATRON to LIFE)  
Mrs. Lillian H. Dibble

Edwin Harbach  
Mrs. Charles M. Masson  
Philip Kenneth Wiseman

### SUSTAINING

Robbins L. Chadil

### ANNUAL

Jesse A. Aguirre  
Mrs. Rose Talbott Arnott  
Robert H. Austin  
Louis Betbeze  
John R. Boden  
Mrs. Alexandra Brown  
H. R. de la Cuesta-Burkhart  
Alfred P. Chamie  
Mrs. Nettie P. Deeter  
Don C. Dickinson  
R. C. Frojen  
George Gund  
Kennedy Hamill  
Perry R. Hanson  
Mrs. Francesca Alvarado Hubbell  
Mrs. Perle Talbott James  
Mrs. Violet Gould Kammerer  
Mrs. Benjamin Kirby  
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Lewerenz  
Lodi Public Library

Ted Loeff  
Dean and Mrs. Clayton G. Loosli  
Mr. and Mrs. R. K. McGill  
Stanley E. Malora  
Miss Laura McVay  
Miss Patrice Manahan  
Mrs. E. F. Menzies  
Mr. and Mrs. Edward W. Nelson  
J. T. Nohner  
Dr. Horace Parker  
Pasadena College Library  
Ernest M. Richardson  
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Schmidt  
Dr. Albert Shumate  
Ervin Strong  
University of Judaism Library  
Fred Vaile  
Mrs. Donald E. Van Luven  
Miss Harriett Weaver  
Mrs. Ida H. Winn

# Historical Society of Southern California

## PUBLICATIONS

### IN-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. Part	Member Price	Non-Member Price
II 1 1891	\$3.00	\$3.00
III 4 1896	2.50	2.50
IV 1 1897	2.50	2.50
IV 2 1898	2.50	2.50
IV 3 1899	2.50	2.50
V 1 1900	2.50	2.50
V 2 1901	2.50	2.50
V 3 1902	2.50	2.50
VI 1 1903	2.50	2.50
VI 2 1904	2.50	2.50
VI 3 1905	2.50	2.50
VII 1 1906	2.50	2.50
VII 2-3 1907-1908	2.50	2.50
VIII 1-2 1909-1910	2.50	2.50
VIII 3 1911	2.50	2.50
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XII 3 1923	2.50	2.50
XIII 1 1924	2.50	2.50
XIII 2 1925	2.50	2.50
XIII 3 1926	2.50	2.50
XIII 4 1927	2.50	2.50
XIV* 1 1928	2.50	2.50
XIV 2 1929	2.50	2.50
XIV 3 1930	2.50	2.50
XV 1 1931	5.00	5.00
XVI 1 1934	2.50	2.50

\*Originally marked XIX in error.

### OUT-OF-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Year	Vol. Part	Year	Vol. Part
1884	I 1	1893	III 1
1886	I 2	1894	III 2
1887	I 3	1895	III 3
1888-1889	I 4	1932	XV 2-3
1890	I 5	1933	XV 4
1891	I 6		

### OUT-OF-PRINT QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

Year	Vol.	No.	Year	Vol.	No.
1935	XVII	2	1948	XXX	2
1935	XVII	3	1949	XXXI	1-2
1935	XVII	4	1949	XXXI	4
1936	XVIII	1	1950	XXXII	1
1936	XVIII	2	1950	XXXII	4
1936	XVIII	3-4	1952	XXXIV	1
1937	XIX	1	1952	XXXIV	2
1937	XIX	2	1952	XXXIV	4
1940	XXII	1	1953	XXXV	4
1940	XXII	2	1955	XXXVII	2
1941	XXIII	2	1956	XXXVIII	1
1947	XXIX	1	1957	XXXIX	2
1948	XXX	1			

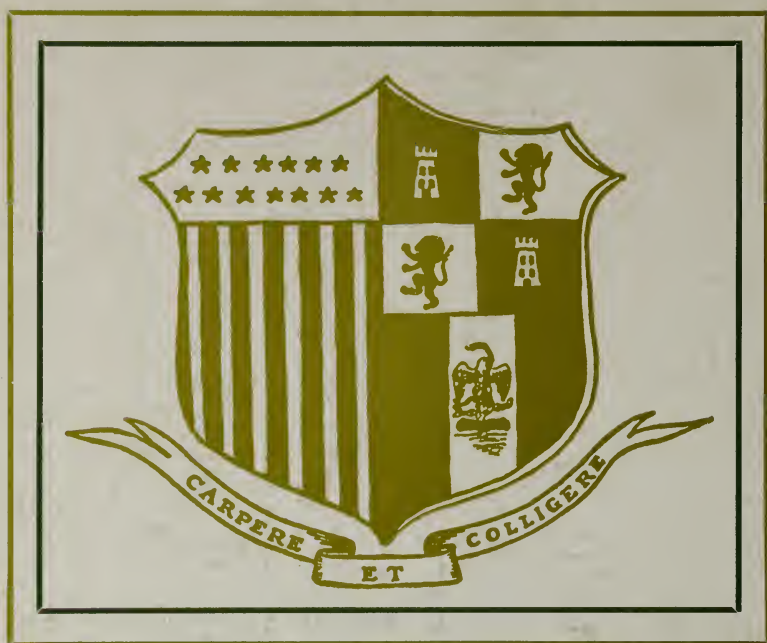
### IN-PRINT QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

Vol.	No.	Date	Member Price	Non-Member Price
XVII	1	March, 1935	\$2.00	\$3.00
XIX	3-4	Sept.-Dec., 1937	3.00	4.00
XX	1	March, 1938	2.00	3.00
XX	2	June, 1938	2.00	3.00
XX	3	September, 1938	2.00	3.00
XX	4	December, 1938	2.00	3.00
XXI	1	March, 1939	2.00	3.00
XXI	2-3	June-Sept., 1939	3.00	4.00
XXI	4	December, 1939	2.00	3.00
XXII	3	September, 1940	2.00	3.00
XXII	4	December, 1940	2.00	3.00
XXIII	1	March, 1941	2.00	3.00
XXIII	3-4	Sept.-Dec., 1941	3.00	4.00
XXIV	1	March, 1942	2.00	3.00
XXIV	2	June, 1942	2.00	3.00
XXIV	3	September, 1942	2.00	3.00
XXIV	4	December, 1942	2.00	3.00
XXV	1-2	March-June, 1943	3.00	4.00
XXV	3	September, 1943	2.00	3.00
XXV	4	December, 1943	2.00	3.00
XXVI	1	March, 1944	2.00	3.00
XXVI	2-3	June-Sept., 1944	3.00	4.00
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XXVII	2-3	June-Sept., 1945	3.00	4.00
XXVII	4	December, 1945	2.00	3.00
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XXXI	3	September, 1949	2.00	3.00
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XXXIII	1	March, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	2	June, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	3	September, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	4	December, 1951	2.00	3.00
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XXXV	1	March, 1953	2.00	3.00
XXXV	2	June, 1953	2.00	3.00
XXXV	3	September, 1953	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	1	March, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	2	June, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	3	September, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	4	December, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVII	1	March, 1955	2.00	3.00
XXXVII	3	September, 1955	2.00	3.00
XXXVII	4	December, 1955	2.00	3.00
XXXVIII	2	June, 1956	2.00	3.00
XXXVIII	3	September, 1956	2.00	3.00
XXXVIII	4	December, 1956	2.00	3.00
XXXIX	1	March, 1957	2.00	3.00
XXXIX	3	September, 1957	2.00	3.00
XXXIX	4	December, 1957	2.00	3.00
XL	1	March, 1958	2.00	3.00
XL	2	June, 1958	2.00	3.00
XL	3	September, 1958	2.00	3.00
XL	4	December, 1958	2.00	3.00

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California





December, 1959

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*The*

*Historical Society of Southern California*

# QUARTERLY

## Home-Town Historian



— Photo from the Ana Begue de Packman Collection

MARCO ROSS NEWMARK

1878 - 1959

See "In Memoriam" — page 291



**T**HE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for three-quarters of a century. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

*The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:*

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

*This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.*

**MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:**

*(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)*

<i>Life Member</i> .....	\$200.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i> .....	\$ 25.00
<i>Patron Member</i> .....	100.00	<i>Active Member</i> .....	10.00

*Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible income tax items.*

*Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. General correspondence should be addressed to the Society Secretary.*

**THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA**

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

Telephone REpublic 4-2823

*The*  
*Historical Society of Southern California*

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# The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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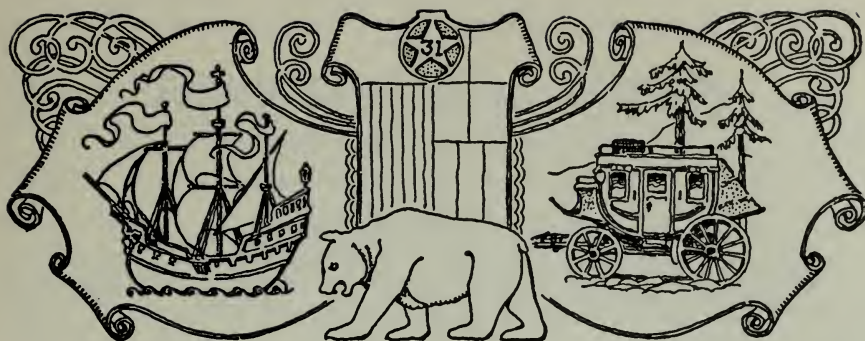
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*The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for December, 1959*

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# IN MEMORIAM

**By Ana Begue de Packman**

This Number of the  
*Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*

is respectfully dedicated to the memory of

MARCO ROSS NEWMARK

*and*

ROGER JOHN STERRETT

two distinguished gentlemen who served our Society

in many beneficial ways over a period of

many years.



## MARCO ROSS NEWMARK

SOCIETY PRESIDENT, 1940-1942

SOCIETY VICE-PRESIDENT, 1938-1939

SOCIETY CURATOR, 1952-1956

To Harris and Sarah Newmark, on October 8, 1878, a son was born at their residence, 127 South Fort Street (Broadway) in Los Angeles. This son was named Marco Ross . . . and his good surname gave him a firm beginning which he honored to the end of his own life, which ended on November 3, 1959.

Marco's education began in the Los Angeles City schools. His college training started at the University of California, Berkeley. He majored in philosophy and graduated in 1902. For further education he attended Dr. Sax's school in New York and the University of Berlin, where he matriculated in philosophy and political economy. This rounded out a thorough college background.

On his return from studies in Europe, Mr. Newmark entered his father's wholesale grocery business which the elder Newmark had founded in 1856. The youthful Marco displayed an inherited business ability by rising to head his father's pioneer firm and remaining there until its recent dissolution.

Marco Newmark was always extremely proud of Joseph Newmark, who was the first acting rabbi in the struggling pueblo of Los Angeles and who was also the first president and founder of the Hebrew Congregation of Los Angeles, known as B'nai B'rith. The certificate of incorporation is recorded in the County archives under date of July 17, 1862, and is signed by Joseph Newmark, President. and M. Wolf, Secretary.

After the passing of Harris Newmark, author of *Sixty Years in Southern California*, the two sons, Maurice and Marco, followed in their father's footsteps in recording the history of their native state, California. Soon the first edition of *Sixty Years in Southern California* was exhausted. The two brothers were pressed into bringing out a second edition of the work. They realized the necessity of editing the manuscript before reprinting. The second edition went to press and was a tremendous success. This second edition was soon out of print with the book still in great demand. Then to press went a fully indexed and annotated third edition, making a historical contribution to Southern California with no equal. This book is used as an authoritative reference and it is taken many times into classrooms of schools and universities as a text book.

*In Memoriam*



— Photo from the Ana Begue de Packman Collection

HOME OF HARRIS NEWMARK, BUILT IN 1874

*The birthplace of Marco R. Newmark on Fort Street, Los Angeles. Standing in the doorway is Joseph Newmark with his young grandson, Marco.*



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



ROGER JOHN STERRETT  
1879 - 1959

## *In Memoriam*

Maurice and Marco co-authored the *Census of Los Angeles for the Year 1850*, which was published in 1929. The two brothers, by reconstructing this census report from a discarded manuscript, made a lasting and valued contribution to historians, genealogists and researchers. They classified the names of families and noted the population of the town of Los Angeles as "white," "colored," and "Indians," with a grand total of 3,530 inhabitants. This work is a helpful genealogical source of the people of Los Angeles County as well as the city of that date. Another valuable book on local history authored by Marco is *Jottings in Southern California History*, which was published in 1955.

The pages of *The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY* are illuminated with many of Marco Newmark's contributions. However, his last series for the *QUARTERLY*, a collection of some thirty-five *Historical Profiles*, will probably be among his most useful contributions for future reference and research.

A historical delineation of the *Pioneer Merchants of Los Angeles* (an unpublished manuscript in our Society archives), co-authored by Marco Newmark and Mrs. Frederic C. Ripley, is a valuable guide for future historians. It chronologically records the ownership, dates of founding, and types of business of the first merchants of Los Angeles. Some firms are traced from pioneer days to the present decade.

Marco R. Newmark served the *Historical Society of Southern California* as its president in 1940, 1941 and 1942; and during his more than a quarter of a century of Society membership he was a member of the Board of Directors for the major portion of that time. He was always first to answer calls for his assistance for the welfare of the Society. He labored unselfishly for the good of the Society and never shirked nor avoided a proffered task whether it was participation in organizational work for a banquet, the annual Historical Pilgrimage, a membership drive, work on the Gifts, or on the Landmarks Committees. When appealed to, no objective was too insignificant for his consideration nor too great for his time and energy. It has been my privilege to have worked beside him through many pleasant and fruitful years. This generous native son was devoted civically, culturally, and philanthropically to his state and the city of his birth, but most of all, his foremost love was the recording of the history of his beloved land.

One of Marco Newmark's greatest achievements in behalf of the



*Historical Society of Southern California* was to interest many of his friends in creating a memorial plaque to preserve in bronze the names of the "Builders of Los Angeles." This was a deed that alerted the descendants of these worthy pioneers into proudly promoting and acknowledging its effectiveness. Mr. Newmark penned a memorial sketch to each and every one of these outstanding men who were the bulwark of his native state and city. It was a job well done.

Among the many positions of civic, state and national importance in which Marco R. Newmark served are: president of the Los Angeles Product Exchange; vice-president of the National Wholesale Grocers' Association; director of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association; director of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce; president of the Midnight Mission; president of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations of Los Angeles; president of the Los Angeles District of the Zionists' Organizations of America; director of the Jewish Home for the Aged; honorary secretary for the Vista del Mar Orphanage; president of B'nai B'rith Lodge No. 847; president of the Jewish Historical Society of Southern California; director of the Conference of Christians and Jews, and many others.

Marco R. Newmark was equally as comfortable in a pew of a Roman Catholic Church, a pew of a Protestant Church, or in the Jewish Temple. He rallied to the cause of his fellowmen, both Jews and Gentiles, without discrimination in color or creed. He was a Master of Westgate Masonic Lodge, No. 335; a member of the Native Sons of the Golden West, University Parlor, No. 272; a member of the Los Angeles Directorate of the Fiesta Association in 1931; a chairman of the executive committee of the Southern California Division of the Camp Library Fund for the United States Army in World Wars I and II.

The brief but eloquent eulogy given Marco R. Newmark's illustrious father applies equally to the son:

*"Merchant, Philanthropist, Author . . ."*

to which can rightfully be added for Marco:

*"Most Beloved Native Son."*

His most devoted wife, Constance Meyberg Newmark; his son, Harris; his daughter, Mrs. Justin Scharff; and his five grandchildren all live to cherish the honored name of this fine man.

*In Memoriam*

**ROGER JOHN STERRETT**

**SOCIETY PRESIDENT, 1946-47**

**SOCIETY VICE-PRESIDENT, 1940; 1942-1945**

**SOCIETY TREASURER, 1948-1950**

When Roger John Sterrett passed away on November 10, 1959, the *Historical Society of Southern California* lost one of its most devoted members. Mr. Sterrett had served the Society as its president for two years during 1946 and 1947; he served two terms as vice-president, first in 1940 and the second term, over a period of four years, from 1942 through 1945. He also served three years as Society treasurer from 1948 through 1950.

Mr. Sterrett made a lasting contribution to the Society in 1935 when he designed the QUARTERLY's book plate which runs on the first editorial page of each issue. The book plate is also used as the Society's identification mark in all its *Special Book Publications*.

Mr. Sterrett was born in Springfield, Ohio, on March 16, 1879. He attended Throop Polytechnic Institute, the forerunner to California Institute of Technology, in Pasadena. There he received his A.B. graduate certificate in 1898. That same year he enrolled at Stanford University for further study and he became secretary to David Starr Jordan, president of the university. At Stanford, Mr. Sterrett majored in English and journalism. He also studied drama and art. For a time after leaving Stanford, he studied at the San Francisco Art League and later at the New York school of Norman Bel Geddes, designer, author and theatrical producer.

After completing his studies there, Mr. Sterrett returned to Southern California where he became supervisor of drawing in the art classes at Riverside High School. He taught at Riverside during the 1904-05 term and then moved to Los Angeles High School where he became art and staging director, a position he held until his retirement in 1944. At Los Angeles High School one of this versatile man's tasks was to author, direct and produce the annual high school play. During the summer session he taught dramatics and the fundamentals of acting at the University of California at Los Angeles.

In 1931, during the one hundred fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of Los Angeles, Mr. Sterrett presented the "City of Destiny," a pageant and street parade which depicted the growth



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of Los Angeles from the pueblo of yesteryear to today's metropolis. In 1938, on the sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Los Angeles High School, Mr. Sterrett produced a spectacular production, "Progress of Youth."

For his many cultural, civic and educational contributions during the years that he served with the Los Angeles school district, Mr. Sterrett, upon his retirement on July 1, 1944, received from the hands of Vierling Kersey, superintendent, a Certificate of Meritorious Service.


After retirement from teaching, Mr. Sterrett, who had joined our Society in 1935, devoted an increased amount of time to its activities. In 1946, he produced a tableau on the steps of the City Hall depicting the raising of the American Flag in Los Angeles for the first time. Other organizations which benefited from Mr. Sterrett's services were the Scribes, the University Club, and Los Fiesteros de Los Angeles. He served on the Advisory Committee for the California Centennial Celebration in 1950 as a representative of the *Historical Society of Southern California*.

In his later years this honored man was missed by his many friends in the Society as he was forced, for reasons of failing health, to withdraw from all outside activities. He will be missed by all who knew him.

# The Old College of Medicine

*By Viola Lockhart Warren*

## PART I

EVENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, in October, 1885, the first Los Angeles medical school opened its doors. Doctors had long been scarce in these parts. The medical practitioners who served the pueblo sporadically, in Spanish and Mexican days, had little or no medical training. After the United States took California, in 1847, a few American doctors drifted into the city, with degrees from eastern colleges, but the quality of medical care did not improve markedly until graduates began to arrive from the two medical schools of San Francisco: the Cooper school, known as the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific, founded in 1858; and the Toland Medical School, founded in 1864. It was a Toland graduate of 1866, Dr. William Pomeroy Widney, who organized the first local college of medicine for the University of Southern California.

The University itself had come into being in 1881, on a wave of educational enthusiasm that presaged a great university. Although the population of Los Angeles was only eleven thousand, it was a growing population and a prosperous one. The nation-wide depression of 1873 had finally abated, the Southern Pacific Railroad had come down to Los Angeles from the north in 1876, and the Santa Fé was soon to come from the east. The time was ripe for big projects in the growing city.

The Southern California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church began to look for land for a university campus in 1876. From the extensive areas offered, in many different parts of the city, the present site was chosen, a joint gift of 308 lots from O. W. Childs, John G. Downey and Isaias W. Hellman. Other generous donors helped to erect the first building for the College of Liberal Arts in 1881. The founders planned a decentralized university, with the College of Liberal Arts as the central core, but with many



specialized colleges spread throughout the southwest. Since public high schools were still few and unsatisfactory, this plan for widespread private institutions of higher education met with enthusiastic approval.

In 1883, land was donated in Ontario for the Chaffey College of Agriculture, and it opened its doors in 1885 as a part of the University. Early in that year, Senator Charles Maclay donated \$150,000 and land in San Fernando for the Maclay College of Theology. Before the building for this college could be started, the University moved on to the organization of a College of Medicine, with Dr. Joseph P. Widney as dean.

As with the other twelve colleges that were either built or projected within the first eight years of the University, the College of Medicine would be self-supporting and attend to its own administration. The University was admittedly land-poor and not yet in complete administrative control of its far-flung empire. The new college would find its own quarters, pay its own bills, select its own faculty, and arrange its own curriculum; the University would grant the MD degree upon the recommendation of the medical faculty.

It was a rigorous assignment — to build a medical school with no financial backing — but Dr. Widney was not dismayed. He called together a group of his medical associates and asked them if they would be willing to become the faculty of a medical school, without salary and subject to regular cash assessments. The response was affirmative and enthusiastic. The twelve doctors who accepted the original professorships on March 31, 1885, were: J. P. Widney, principles and practice of medicine; W. G. Cochran, clinical medicine; H. H. Maynard, principles and practice of surgery; Joseph Kurtz, clinical surgery; G. W. Lasher, surgical anatomy, histology, and microscopy; H. S. Orme, *materia medica* and therapeutics; Walter Lindley, obstetrics; F. T. Bicknell, gynecology; W. B. Percival, chemistry and toxicology; A. McFarland, diseases of the mind and nervous system; J. S. Baker, hygiene and diseases of the skin; A. F. Darling, ophthalmology and otology.

In April, four more members were added to the faculty: Charles A. H. deSzigethy, pathology and diseases of the genito-urinary organs; W. L. Wills, anatomy; J. H. Utley, physiology; and H. Nadeau, chief of dispensary clinics. In May, the first woman faculty member was appointed: Dr. Elizabeth A. Follansbee, professor of diseases of children. Judge R. M. Widney, brother of the dean and also a pioneer in the university movement, was made professor of medical jurisprudence.

### *The Old College of Medicine*

The enthusiastic faculty met almost weekly for a time, breaking into committees, making momentous decisions, and keeping careful minutes. The Trustees of the University had decreed: "The standard of attainments for the admission of students into said College of Medicine shall be as high, the course of study as long, as varied, and as thorough, and the requirements for graduation as rigid as in the recognized first-class Colleges of Medicine of the United States."

With this high standard the faculty thoroughly agreed. They signed Articles of Agreement with the University, adopted a code of laws for the government of the College, and drew up a prospectus for the three six-month terms of instruction. The course of study, as announced in the University Bulletin of 1884-85 reads:

First Year. General Anatomy with dissection, Physiology, Chemistry, *Material Medica*, Laboratory [*sic*] work and Microscopy.

Second Year. General, Surgical and Regional Anatomy with dissection, Physiology, Medical Chemistry, Pathology, Principles and Practice of Medicine with Clinical Medicine, Principles and Practice of Surgery with Clinical Surgery, *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics, Obstetrics, Microscopy, Hospital and Dispensary Clinics.

Third Year. Principles and Practice of Medicine with Clinical Medicine, Principles and Practice of Surgery with Operative Surgery, Pathology and Morbid Anatomy, Therapeutics, Obstetrics, Gynecology with Clinics, Diseases of Children, Mental and Nervous Diseases, Ophthalmology, Otology, Diseases of the Skin, Genito-Urinary Diseases, Medical Jurisprudence, Hospital, Laboratory [*sic*] and Dispensary Work.

Suitable temporary quarters for the College were found in the old brick establishment of the Vaché Freres Winery on Aliso Street. Its lower floor had served as a wine cellar and its upper two floors as a residence. The vast vineyards, which had occupied much of the river front where the Union Station now stands, had gradually been shorn away, and a brewery operated in the old winery across the street from the projected College of Medicine. The giant sycamore tree which had given the street its Spanish name of "Aliso" was still standing in the brewery yard. It was originally the only large tree in the pueblo, and once sheltered the adobe home and walled patio of Don Luis Vignes, the pioneer vintner of the old winery.

The faculty voted an initial assessment \$25 each and a monthly assessment of \$10. Rent for the building was \$50 a month; the old wine-cellar served as quarters for the free dispensary; the upper two floors were converted into classrooms. It was necessary to spend \$187.75 for plaster and paint for the building and \$6.00 for chairs



for the anticipated students. One hundred dollars bought all of the necessary chemical apparatus. Overtures were under way with the City and County governments to secure \$75 a month from each to pay for drugs and dressings for the dispensary, but an initial supply was purchased for \$62.50. A janitor was hired for \$10.00 a month; the secretary of the faculty was allotted \$5.00 a month for expenses; signs were ordered for the dispensary door and college entrance; 100 matriculation cards were printed; 1,000 catalogues were issued; and notices were inserted in the local papers that the College of Medicine of the University of Southern California would open on October 7.

The catalogues, listing the faculty and describing the curriculum in the precise prose of Dean Widney, were sent to eastern colleges and medical journals, with letters calling the attention of prospective students "who are not robust" to the peculiarly healthful and delightful climate of Los Angeles. Mention was made of "the risk of having chronic pulmonary troubles fastened upon them by the bad climate of the East coast and the Mississippi River area." Dr. Widney paid due tribute to the two Colleges of Medicine five hundred miles away in San Francisco, but he assured his readers that Southern California would soon be legally separated from Northern and would therefore need its own medical school, "not as a rival of other institutions of like character, but as an earnest co-worker in the cause of medical education." He explained that although the climate was extremely healthful, the constant influx of invalids from all over the United States and the constant travel to Los Angeles from all parts of the world, both by land and by sea, made disease available for study in all its forms and in almost every race and nationality.

There were no matriculation requirements for prospective students, not even a high school education; there were no age limitations, no bars of race, color, religion, or sex. An entrance examination in English and Latin was specified, but it usually consisted of a visit to Dean Widney's home on Adams Street, where the applicant was questioned about his knowledge of Latin and Greek. One foreign student, newly arrived in America, had recently been graduated from the German Gymnasium and he could demonstrate more knowledge of the classical languages than the Dean himself possessed. He was promptly admitted to the medical school, despite his poor understanding of the English language.

The tuition fee for the first six-month term was \$145 and for the second term, \$130. There was no charge for lectures in the third and final year, but the fee for a compulsory "intermediate term" of

## *The Old College of Medicine*

two months was \$25 and the diploma fee was \$15, thus bringing the total cost of the medical course to \$315. With only a six-month term each year, the student could find work for half the year and thus pay his college expenses. Good board and room could be found within bicycling distance for \$5.00 or \$10.00 a week.

The College was willing to accept notes from students unable to pay their entire tuition in advance, but if the notes were not paid when due, they were put in the hands of a collecting agency. A building lot in Pasadena was once accepted in lieu of one semester's tuition, and the position of College janitor was open to a student of limited means. Sons and daughters of clergymen were admitted for half the regular fees, and students preparing for the mission field presented only their notes for tuition. If they actually went to the mission field upon graduation, their notes were cancelled.

There was no library in the new school except a collection of dog-eared text books contributed by the faculty and dating back to the years of their own medical instruction. Students bought their own text books, almost equally antiquated.

The course of instruction consisted largely of lectures, delivered by the volunteer professors. The demands of private practice often kept the professor from appearing for his scheduled lecture, but students were expected to wait until fifteen minutes after the hour before leaving the classroom. If Dean Widney happened to be on the premises, he would substitute for the missing professor, sometimes delivering as many as three hour-long lectures in succession, in three different fields of medicine.

The dispensary hours were brief, since the supervising physicians could spend little time away from their offices. From twelve-thirty until one-thirty each week day, a clinic was held in a different specialty: Dr. Lasher in charge of the venereal disease clinic, Maynard of surgery; Darling of eye and ear; Utley, of children's diseases; and Nadeau, Clinic Chief, in charge of a general disease clinic. The clinics were crowded, because this was the only free dispensary in the city, and it made no charge for registration, service, medicines, or dressings.

Bedside teaching at the new County Hospital and Poor Farm, built in 1878, and at the new Sister's Hospital, just completed in 1884, was nominally a part of the College curriculum, but it proved to be a somewhat sporadic luxury, depending upon the whim of the clinician in charge and upon the self-protective instincts of the patient involved. Those students fortunate enough to get a part-time job in one of the hospitals, or to serve a private physician in his hospital routine, were the ones who secured the best working



knowledge of hospital care. Perhaps it was just as well that students were not given too much hospital responsibility at that period. One student who worked in the pharmacy of the County Hospital reported long afterwards that an indigent patient would often return with a bottle of half-used medicine and complain that it wasn't doing him any good: he wanted a different medicine. The student would retire to the rear of the pharmacy, dump the bottle into a barrel that had received other such contributions, and then refill the bottle from the same barrel. The patient would depart happily with his new medicine.

There was little laboratory instruction planned for the new medical school; a little chemistry, some work with the microscope, and courses in anatomical dissection. Anatomy was a popular course because there were plenty of free cadavres and because the anatomy demonstrators were paid for their services and therefore always on hand at the scheduled hour. True, their pay at the beginning was only \$100 for the term, and yet they seem to have been consistently well-qualified. Faculty members, as well as students, attended the dissections with enthusiasm. A knowledge of anatomy was urgently necessary for even the crude surgical procedures of that day because, in the absence of a good anæsthetic and other modern assistance, surgery had to be quick and certain to avoid bleeding and shock.

Extensive laboratories such as we know in medical science today were still far in the future. In 1885, the germ theories of Pasteur and Koch were still new and not yet established in laboratory routine. The X-ray had not been discovered. Chloroform had not yet been routinely replaced by ether. When news of diphtheria toxin and cholera control reached the faculty of the Medical College, they simply did not believe the good word. It was well for the infant school that it could be spared the *expense* of laboratory instruction, but the absence of such instruction, and of laboratory research, reduced medical education to little more than a discussion of symptoms and wide guesses as to methods of treatment. All of the medical schools of America, in 1885, suffered to some extent from the same deficiency. A knowledge of the *causes* of disease would need to wait for the laboratory sciences and for the era of medical research. As these progressed, the schools would reflect progress by improved curriculum, more adequate equipment and better instruction. There would also be an inevitable increase in medical school budgets. In 1885, the total budget for the College of Medicine for a six-month term was \$2,118, of which \$1,706 was contributed by the faculty and \$412 was tuition from students.

## *The Old College of Medicine*

The building was ready for occupancy in June, and a summer course of lectures was scheduled as a practice run for the eager faculty. On July 11, the dispensary was opened for a few crowded hours each day. In August, the County Medical Association, then with a membership of about one hundred, called its regular meeting in one of the lecture rooms of the medical school. Finally, as the October opening date drew near, students began to register. There were ten who wanted the complete medical course, and two who registered for special lectures only. One of the regular students was an attractive young woman. Several, to judge by their photographs, must have been well over thirty years old, bearded and mustached. Several were married. There was great variety in the backgrounds of the students. An analysis of one entering class a few years later showed the son of an undertaker, the son of a homeopath, a "beau brummell" from an old Spanish family, a male nurse from the County Hospital, an older man fighting asthma, a school teacher from Tehachapi, a girl destined to serve as a medical missionary in China, a Russian Jew inclined toward naturopathy, and a young man working his way through by selling books in the pueblo in the winter and shining boots at a resort in the summer.

Students found rooms where they could in the little city of 15,000 people. A few fortunate ones lived in doctors' homes and helped with the medical practice in return for room and board. The recently-built railroads made it possible for out-of-state students to come to the medical school for six months on reduced excursion rates, returning to their homes in the East for the summer months. For local transportation, a mule car line was available, a cable car, and an electric street car line — its cable supported by huge arms stretching out into the middle of the street like a series of gallows trees. The doctors made their calls in top buggies or surreys, but, for students, the popular mode of travel was by bicycle. Racks to accommodate the students' bikes were set up in the Bulletin Room of the Medical College.

A few formal social events were arranged for the students. Each term opened with elaborate Opening Exercises, usually at Hazard's Pavilion. At the end of the first term, Dr. and Mrs. Walter Lindley gave a dinner for the students, who chose this occasion to present the traditional gold-headed cane to Dr. J. H. Utley, signifying that in their estimation he was the best exemplification of the Art of Medicine. Dr. and Mrs. Widney also gave a reception at the end of the first term, inviting the mayor of the city, the editors of the local newspapers, and other dignitaries. "The Dean and his accomplished wife made every guest happy."



There was extra-curricular fun available, also, for the little band of medical students. The brewery across the street from the College was a favorite rendezvous, where the deep shade of the aliso tree provided a good spot for loafing. There was an ostrich farm in operation near the center of the city. Elysian Park had just been set aside as a pleasure ground, and the Plaza had been improved. Round House George operated his amusement park at Sixth and Fort Streets. Both Child's Opera House and the Tivoli Theatre presented frequent theatricals. The Washington Gardens at Washington and Main offered singing and dancing, a zoo, and a popular bar. The center of the city had been lighted by electricity since 1881. Seven spliced masts, a hundred-and-fifty feet high, carried three giant arc lights that illuminated a block about three-quarters of a mile square in the center of the city. The great flood of 1886, which inundated most of Los Angeles for two or three weeks, must have provided excitement for the students and possibly lightened their lecture load for a time.

Evidence that the medical course was not entirely limited to drudgery was apparent as the first class prepared to graduate in 1888. The only girl in the class, Lula Talbot, had invited to Los Angeles her sister, Rose, also a medical doctor, from Chicago. The two girls announced their engagement to two of the graduating men of the class, and the double ceremony was performed immediately after commencement. Three of the participating doctors were to attain such eminence in their profession as to become faculty members of the College and presidents of the County Medical Association.

The College of Medicine had chosen not to join the University in this first Commencement, but to stage its own affair in the First Street Methodist Church. Five hundred invitations were engraved; the attendance was large; the music and entertainment were elaborate. Nine graduates received their degrees from the University, including the one who had served as janitor for the College during his entire three years, and the one who was obliged to give his note at 8% for unpaid fees. Dean Widney gave a sonorous address in which he advised the new doctors to be patient, be sympathetic, be strong. He concluded, ". . . and so, when the last sick call shall have been answered and the last prescription written, and the tired fingers for the last time lay down the pen, shall you wrap the draperies of your couch about you as one who lies down to pleasant dreams; and so shall you pass down the valley of the shadow, fearing no evil. And so shall you not dread to meet the face of the Master, who was also a healer of men."

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The faculty had hoped to move the College into a new building of its own before the graduation of this first class. Dean Widney had purchased the Aliso lot and building in 1886 and had pledged himself to tear down the old structure and build an appropriate three-story brick building for the College. Alas, for this dream and for the still more magnificent dream of the University itself! The real estate boom of 1887, which had brought hordes of people into Southern California and had raised the price of land to astronomical levels — this boom suddenly collapsed in 1888, leaving land unsalable and the city in a severe economic depression. Dr. Widney was unable to fulfill his pledge. In order to save the University which he had helped to found, he transferred his major time and effort to the financial chaos that developed among the twelve colleges, depending upon land for their support but suddenly finding land valueless and endowments unproductive. In 1892, he assumed the presidency of the distressed University, while continuing as Dean of the College of Medicine.

The College remained on Aliso Street, making some repairs to the building in 1889. They removed the third-floor dormer window and raised the roof line in front and back, in order to enlarge the rooms of the third story. It was not until 1895 that the faculty was able to buy a block of land on Buena Vista Street, now North Broadway, and to construct there a three-story frame building. The Aliso property, still owned by Dr. Widney, was rented to W. A. Saunders' Mule Market, "the largest in the southwest." For thirty-three years the mournful "hee-haw" of several hundred mules reverberated through the old classrooms, until the structure was torn down in 1928, still carrying across its front a faded inscription, "University Medical College."

During the ten years on Aliso Street, there had been many changes in faculty and in curriculum. In 1890, the three terms of the medical course had been lengthened to seven months each. In 1894, the College instituted a four-year course with compulsory attendance upon lectures, laboratory, and hospital wards for eight months of each year. There had been additions to laboratory space and equipment, and distinguished names had been added to the faculty. Although the population of the city had jumped from 15,000 to 50,000 in the single decade, classes remained disappointingly small and the financial support of the enterprise continued to be precarious.

It was a disappointment to the faculty that they were unable to afford a hospital immediately, in connection with their new site,



but a postponement of this project was necessary. The purchase of the lot and the construction of the new classroom building had cost \$14,500, of which \$10,500 was borrowed. The arrangement of such a large loan was facilitated by the legal incorporation of the faculty into "The Hospital Building Association," with shares of stock, valued at \$100 each, issued to faculty members in proportion to the size of their contributions over the past ten years.

The incorporation of the Medical College project accomplished an even more far-reaching objective than the securing of the loan and the announcement of a future hospital. It clarified financial relationships with the University. In the University Articles of Agreement, signed in 1885, the faculty had promised that any property accruing to the College of Medicine would belong to the University. Yet Dean Widney, who was also president of the University, warned the faculty, in September, 1896, to keep their finances distinctly separate from the precarious ones of the University. The legal incorporation of stockholders assured to those who had contributed to the cash equity in the new building and who were assuming the indebtedness, that the ownership and control of the property would rest permanently in their hands. The College of Medicine began its tenancy of the Hospital Building Association structure with a rental lease at \$150 a month. The following year, the rent was raised to \$350 a month, and later to \$400 a month. Although an occasional small surplus was divided among the active faculty members as salary, it is doubtful if stockholders in the corporation ever received a dividend. If so, they soon surrendered it in their primary role as faculty members liable to assessment.

It was perhaps a legitimate expectation, in 1895, that shareholders in a hospital building association would eventually be reimbursed for even a long-continued outlay of funds. Hospitals were inexpensive to build, being little more than hotels with operating rooms attached, and they were profitable to operate. The California Hospital, established by faculty members Walter Lindley and Joseph Kurtz, and moved into a new building in 1898, was netting 30% on the investment. Dr. Widney launched a preliminary appeal to the community to purchase shares in the proposed "Mercy Hospital" to be constructed in the rear of the medical school, but he was unable to continue the campaign because of his duties at the University, and no one else undertook to pursue the matter.

The failure to achieve a College hospital was more than economically unfortunate — it affected the quality of academic teaching. The control of teaching cases at the other hospitals was never

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complete, and, consequently bedside teaching was never as thorough as it should have been. The placement of interns was a serious problem. County Hospital had only three small frame buildings and could take only three interns each year. California Hospital could take one. Idylwild Sanitarium could take two. The women of the classes were given internships at Children's Hospital in San Francisco, two each year. The Sisters' Hospital, now St. Vincent's, provided for a few of the remaining graduates, but there were usually some left homeless for their intern year.

The new building, with its three stories, basement, and large amphitheatre, proved to be much more expensive to operate than did the old one. Taxes and interest were high; janitorial fees increased; the free dispensary drew more and more patients; laboratory assistants had to be paid larger salaries; it became necessary to buy cadavres at \$25 apiece from the State Hospital at Highlands; and the City and County reduced their drug contribution to \$25 a month each.

The faculty could meet the costs only by making larger and larger contributions. No more notes were accepted from students in lieu of tuition; minister's sons and daughters and prospective missionaries were no longer given reduced rates; every effort was made to increase the enrollment by widespread advertising. The College Training School for nurses was organized in 1895, its lecture courses, with appropriate reimbursement, to be given at the Medical School, its practical work at the County Hospital. Dr. Francis L. Haynes, of the College faculty, wrote a primer of surgical nursing to be used in the school. The University of Southern California Dental School was organized in 1897, joined the medical classes for lectures, and contributed about \$1,000 a year toward medical school expenses. Often the number of dental students at the College outnumbered the medical students. From 1905 to 1907, the College auditorium was rented to the USC College of Pharmacy for evening classes, and the laboratories were rented to private practitioners during the summer vacation.

One ray of light in the dark financial picture was a contribution of \$2,500 for the construction of a laboratory building. Dr. Wilbur A. Hendryx, in 1899, erected the building on Medical College land, in memory of his deceased wife. The design of the laboratory and its administration were in the hands of Dr. Stanley Black, distinguished pathologist of the faculty. The College appropriated \$100 to build an animal house adjacent to the new laboratory. Miss Mary Jane Mansill, a friend of Dr. Milbank Johnson,



gave \$1,000 for physiological apparatus for Dr. Milbank's laboratory. It was to the credit of the faculty that they did not curtail the development of the laboratory sciences in order to provide profit for themselves as stockholders of the corporation.

Dr. W. Jarvis Barlow, a newcomer to Los Angeles, who had received the encouragement and cooperation of the faculty in the organization of his Barlow Sanitarium, had been aware for some time of the need for a good medical library in connection with the medical school. He first purchased a small cottage in the neighborhood and moved it to the rear of the College to serve as a library and reading room. Finally, in 1906, he built a beautiful little brick and stone building with a skylight in its central dome, across the street from the School. This building was to make history in Los Angeles as the Barlow Medical Library. The building was deeded to the College, but the books were the property of the Barlow Library Association and were eventually given to the Los Angeles County Medical Association to form the nucleus of the distinguished medical library in the Association headquarters.

By 1904, despite the progress that the College had made in curriculum and in teaching equipment, it had made no progress at all toward the building of a hospital. Dean Walter Lindley and the faculty faced the fact with realism and voted to relinquish their hospital building plans. They converted the Hospital Building Association into a non-profit holding corporation called the Los Angeles College Clinic Association. Notes at 7%, payable within one year after date (June 1, 1904) at \$150 a share, were given to shareholders of the old corporation by the Trustees of the new one. The total face value of notes issued was \$7,750.00. As a non-profit, educational enterprise, the College of Medicine would no longer be required to pay city and county taxes. Within the year specified on the notes, all but two had been voluntarily surrendered and cancelled. The two still outstanding became subjects for law suits, but were eventually paid off at reduced valuation.

The Los Angeles College Clinic Association started its existence free of debt, but one of its first acts was to borrow \$20,000 for the erection of a dispensary building and for repairs on the Pioneer Building. Clinic attendance had increased to 2,000 cases a month, and there was no longer adequate room in one building for both class work and dispensary. The bulk of the work of caring for the sick poor of city and county was still carried by the College dispensary.

While the faculty was battling with financial problems, the

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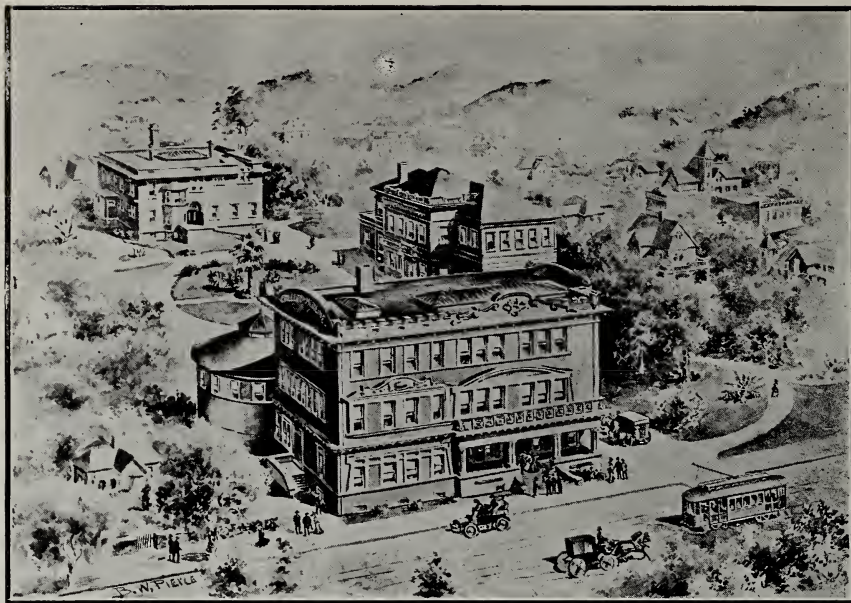


— from the Author's Collection

U. S. C. COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, 1885-1896  
*445 Aliso Street*



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



— Printing plate from the Author's Collection

COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, 737 NORTH BROADWAY  
*Before 1911*

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students were leading a satisfactory life. Members of the classes were younger now and more homogeneous. With the departure of the stern and pious Dean Widney, the atmosphere became more democratic. Students were organized under an Executive Committee composed of the presidents of the classes. There was a Senior-Junior Clinical Club, a Sophomore-Freshman Science Club, and an active Alumni Association. Students chose their own commencement speaker and made their own decision on the perennial question of whether to graduate with the rest of the University or to stage their own function. They held Sophomore Hops and Senior Balls and asked the faculty for contributions toward the cost. They could park their bicycles in the space under the auditorium, provided they did not make enough noise to disturb the lecturers overhead. They had a tennis court and a summer pavilion at the rear of the College. The nurses, receiving basic training at the College, enlivened the atmosphere tremendously, and in 1896 the medical students entered a float in the annual City Fiesta and rode the horse-drawn dray disguised as nurses.

Medical fraternities were introduced in 1896, and the keen rivalry between Nu Sigma Nu and Phi Rho Sigma added spice to student life. Alpha Epsilon Iota for medical women was established in 1906. After 1905, it was possible for a medical student to secure both an AB and an MD by doing two extra years of work at the College of Liberal Arts, and several students took advantage of this six-year curriculum. All graduating classes now wore caps and gowns; commencement exercises grew more splendid each year, becoming in many ways the chief social event of the city.

As a freer life evolved in the College of Medicine, disciplinary problems inevitably increased. Students were frequently reprimanded for intoxication or for impertinence to the professors. Cribbing in examinations became such a problem that an attendant was hired to watch over each examination. Occasionally a student was caught collecting private medical fees from dispensary patients — he was severely disciplined. The majority of the students, however, were serious and hardworking. They voluntarily requested scientific demonstrations, more laboratory work, better instruction. Many of them put in long unscheduled hours assisting at hospitals or clinics. The list of distinguished physicians trained in the College of Medicine is long and impressive. These were the men and women who, with their professors, built Los Angeles hospitals, wrote city and county health laws, guided the destinies of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, and established the basic ethics for a sound medical profession in Los Angeles.



In 1907, Dr. W. Jarvis Barlow was persuaded to take the deanship. Installed with him, as secretary of the Los Angeles College Clinic Association, was Dr. George Kress, a young faculty member since 1906. The two officials faced a financial situation of increasing seriousness. Despite the contributions of the faculty (a total of \$2,940 in 1907-08), and despite all reasonable economy, the College budget would be \$4,000 in the red by the end of the year, on a total operating budget of \$15,724. The number of students had fallen from 129 to 98 in one year; tuition from \$10,500 to \$9,092. The College now faced competition. In 1904, the College of Physicians and Surgeons had opened its doors, and this school had its own hospital. The College of Medical Evangelists was striving for certification, and several diploma mills in the city were turning out doctors at half the time and expense. Moreover, the USC Dental School and the School of Pharmacy now had their own faculty and their own quarters and were no longer paying fees into the College treasury. Renewal of the insurance policy was expensive and the interest on the \$20,000 indebtedness was due. The payment of the principal itself would become due in two years.

The crowning discouragement came to Dr. Barlow and the faculty in 1909, when the Flexner report on *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, financed by the Carnegie Foundation, classed the College of Medicine as a "Class B" institution. A quarter of a century of effort to maintain the highest possible standard of medical education had been in vain! Sadly the faculty discussed the situation and admitted that the College could not be maintained on student fees alone. They had long been observing the generous support given by the Legislature to the UC Medical School, formerly the Toland School, and in 1899 they had inserted this laconic statement in their minutes: "The action of the last Legislature in appropriating \$80,000 for a new building for the State University Medical Department was discussed and condemned." Perhaps it might be possible for the University of California to adopt this school, as it had adopted Toland, and keep it alive with tax money.

A committee of three deans, Widney, Brainerd, and Barlow, with Dr. Granville MacGowan of the faculty, made a gloomy trip to Berkeley to consult with the Regents of the State University. They returned to Los Angeles in an even more discouraged mood because the Regents refused to accept the gift of the College so long as it had a \$20,000 indebtedness attached. Now, in its hour of need, a windfall descended upon the College. Mr. Jackson A. Graves, vice-president of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank, agreed to

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assume the mortgage as a gift to the University of California, and in memory of his son, who had attended the University for a time, and had been killed in a 1908 train wreck during his senior year at the College of Medicine. The faculty gratefully named their dispensary building, now free of debt, the "Selwyn Emmet Graves Memorial Dispensary" and they sent the committee back to interview the Regents. Faculty members agreed to pay off the \$2,000 unsecured loan and the current indebtedness of over \$2,000 from their own pockets.

The Regents of the State University made sure that the University of Southern California had no financial interest in the College and that its trustees were agreeable to the transfer of ownership. When this assurance had been received in writing, the Regents accepted the gift of land, buildings, and equipment. They stipulated that, for the next two years, the College would continue to pay its own bills; that the next year's Freshmen class would pay their fees in Los Angeles, but attend in Berkeley; that subsequent freshman and sophomore students would register and attend in Berkeley; that all junior and senior students from the south would register and attend in Los Angeles; that for one year, students would be permitted to enter with high school credentials only, but that two years of college work would be required subsequently. Thus, the Regents prepared to put the Los Angeles school on the same footing as their San Francisco school, which, since 1907, had accommodated only juniors and seniors; freshmen and sophomores from the entire state would attend in Berkeley.

The Los Angeles Clinic Association, in its turn, attached a reversionary clause to its deed of gift: "that said property shall revert to this Association if the University of California shall cease to use said property for the purpose of carrying on the work of a Medical Department of said University at Los Angeles."

The members of the College faculty, as well as the officers of the Los Angeles College Clinic Association, signed the conditions of transfer: W. Jarvis Barlow, J. P. Widney, W. G. Brainerd, Joseph Kurtz, Geo. W. Lasher, Stanley P. Black, H. Bert Ellis, D. C. Barber, Carl Kurtz, Randall Hutchinson, Ralph Williams, L. M. Powers, Jos. M. King, E. T. Dillon, Titian J. Coffey, Donald J. Frick, Arthur T. Godin, W. P. Millspaugh, Walter Lindley, Wm. Lemoyne Wills, Granville MacGowan, M. L. Moore, Geo. L. Cole, Wm. A. Edwards, F. M. Pottenger, W. W. Richardson, Hill Hastings, George H. Kress, F. D. Ballard, Ross Moore, Dudley Fulton, Albert Soiland, Wm. R. Molony, E. M. Lazard.



The legal transfer took place in the summer of 1909, between college terms. When school opened again in the fall, very few changes were apparent except that the freshman dissecting room in the basement was closed and locked. The freshmen had gone to Berkeley. The University of California made no new faculty appointments, and the same faculty members were still digging into their pockets to pay the running expenses of the College. The word "Southern" was merely crossed out on the College letter paper, leaving "University of \_\_\_\_\_ California," but a sign was affixed to the front of the College, reading "The College of Medicine of the University of California."

Dean Barlow, who consented reluctantly to remain as dean under the new administration, closed the final meeting of the USC Medical College Faculty with some blunt words of chastisement and of warning: "Too many of us allow our private affairs to interfere with our college hours." He pointed out that in the past year, the senior class had lacked instruction for 27 hours, due to the absence of the scheduled professors. The junior class had lacked instruction for 22 hours, the sophomore class for 9, and the freshman class for 25; a total of 83 hours lost. The medical clinic had been vacant of a clinician 27% of its scheduled time; the women's clinic for 25%. "While Medical Colleges as units are raising the standard of the education of students, it is absolutely necessary that we raise our own standards as medical educators by conscientiously doing our duty to the College, subject, and student in punctuality, regularity and intellectual fitness."

Although admitting the justice of Dr. Barlow's rebuke, the faculty members were confident that they could now discharge their responsibility with credit to their new sponsor. The minutes of the Faculty Committee for the 1909-1910 school year show a new vigor. Members attended more regularly; suggestions for improvement of the teaching program were constructive and firm; students who had low marks were called together and warned that better work would have to be done. Dean Barlow boasted that no medical school in the state, with the possible exception of Stanford, which had adopted the Cooper school with its Lane Hospital, had better clinical facilities than this College: 19,524 clinic patients during the last year; half of the 350 teaching beds in the County Hospital; all of the 28 beds at the Children's Hospital; all of the 40 beds at Barlow Sanitarium.

Relations with USC were still friendly. The private University had made an immediate affiliation with the College of Physicians

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and Surgeons, so that its program of medical education could continue, as provided in the University charter. The University of California had agreed to certify and sign the diplomas of all former graduates of the USC College who had conducted themselves with honor to their Alma Mater, so that graduates now had two Mothers instead of one. No one in the faculty, least of all the young Secretary, Dr. George Kress, had forgotten the generosity of the Legislature to the UC Medical Department in San Francisco. Now the Los Angeles Department had equal claim to public largess.

*(To be continued.)*

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# California *and the* Common Law

By Edwin W. Young



WHEN CALIFORNIA PREPARED HERSELF FOR STATEHOOD, she was conscientiously concerned as to what system of law would be most suitable to the needs of a potentially successful state. In his first message to the legislature, December 21, 1849, Governor Peter Burnett made the following recommendations:

1. Adopt the English law of evidence
2. Adopt the Commercial law of England
3. Adopt the Civil Code of Louisiana
4. Adopt the Louisiana Code of Practice
5. Define crimes and misdemeanors as known to the Common Law of England<sup>(1)</sup>.

Governor Burnett and his advisors felt that the combination of these several systems of procedure would provide equal justice under the law. Let us peruse the Governor's own thoughts on this important facet of the state's basic law, for their wording is elegant without being ostentatious, and is further enhanced by the conciseness of expression:

"These codes, it is thought, would combine the best features of both the Civil and Common Law, and at the same time, omit the most objectionable portions of each. The Civil Code of Louisiana was compiled by the most able of American jurists — contains the most extensive and valuable references to authorities . . . and for its simplicity, brevity, beauty, accuracy, and equity, is perhaps unequaled.

"Its provisions almost entirely relate to general subjects, not local, and would be quite applicable to the conditions and circumstances of the state. The Civil Law, the basis of the Louisiana Civil Code, aside from its mere political maxims . . . is a system of the most refined, enlarged, and enlightened principles of equity and justice . . . and from the simplicity and yet comprehensive nature of the provisions, a general knowledge of the leading principles of the law might the more readily be diffused among the people."<sup>(2)</sup>

## *California and the Common Law*

On February 1, 1850, Senator Douglass of Stockton, who was to be some years later, California's Secretary of State, presented to the Senate a petition of certain members of the San Francisco Bar, asking that the legislature "retain, in its substantial elements, the system of the Civil Law, as proposed by His Excellency the Governor, in preference to the English Common Law." The first signature on the petition was that of John W. Dwinelle, a scholar, a man of considerable reputation in law and literature. The petition was read, ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.<sup>(3)</sup>

Horace Hawes<sup>(4)</sup>, in his inaugural address, as prefect of the San Francisco district, stated, before the Town Council, that the "laws now in force in this country, when well understood, may not be found so inadequate to the purposes of good government as has generally been supposed. It is, perhaps, the abuses and maladministration which may have brought them into disrepute."<sup>(5)</sup>

### 1.

From the evidence thus far presented, it is apparent that the leading members of the California Bar considered the Spanish legal system to be quite adequate to the exigencies of a nascent and already expanding state. One may also detect a degree of traditional sentiment in the desire of these jurist-lawyers to maintain an antiquated jurisprudence, so alien to the heritage of the new breed of Californian.

It is interesting and somewhat revealing to note that the first set of laws for California was promulgated in 1773. This *Reglamento Provisional* was drawn up by Juan José de Echeveste, formerly the purchasing agent for the two Californias.

In its final form the *Reglamento* of 1773 had little of what is expected of a constitution. The *Reglamento*, in its opening remarks, announced the estimated annual expenditures required for the maintenance of the two Californias and Department of San Blas, all of which were grouped under the same jurisdiction. The document then specified particular plans for Alta California, such as the establishment of eighty-two soldiers, four blacksmiths . . .<sup>(6)</sup>

The most important feature of this *Reglamento* was its provisions concerning emigration to Alta California. All those who wished to settle in Upper California were to be taken from the port of San Blas free of charge; be supplied with free rations for five years; and be paid the wages of a sailor for two years.<sup>(7)</sup>

In June of 1779, the original *Reglamento* was supplemented by a similar charter, drawn up under the supervision of Felipe de Neve,



one of California's outstanding Spanish governors. This later *Reglamento* served as the primary law in California for the remaining forty years of Spanish hegemony in the new world.

Mexico, in 1822, successfully revolted against her Spanish masters, thus marking the inception of the Republic of Mexico. In 1837, the Mexican Congress promulgated a body of laws for California, embracing all the necessary components of an operable government.

For the purpose of this essay, we need only concern ourselves with a brief survey of the basic political structure. The Mexican laws called for the establishment of a tripartite form of government — governor, legislature, and judiciary.

The local governor was appointed by the central government and had little influence on territorial policy. The only manner in which he could express his own policies was his power to appoint prefects, the regional administrators.<sup>(8)</sup>

The territorial legislature was elected by popular franchise. It was composed of seven members who served for four years each. The legislature had the authority to enact commerce laws, tax schedules, and education codes. It did not have power to regulate the military department, for that phase of government was under direct orders of Mexico City.<sup>(9)</sup>

The judiciary, theoretically at least, was composed of a supreme court, district court of appeal, trial courts, and courts of petty jurisdiction. In actuality, only courts of petty jurisdiction, such as justice and municipal courts, functioned in the restricted areas of the towns. If a litigant wished to lodge an appeal from a local court decision, he had to present his case to the governor in person. "No person could leave town, presidio, or ranch without a passport from the civil authority. All books and papers suspected of being seditious against either the government or the Catholic faith were required to be delivered for examination by the president of the missions."<sup>(10)</sup> The whole period of Mexican administration was characterized by much turbulence and ineptitude on the part of the local officialdom.

While Mexican administration dwelt in a state of lethargy, the sturdy American pioneer continued to move West and settle the potentially rich province of Mexico. The discovery of gold only accelerated a continuous flow of settlers. This population influx stimulated commercial growth which called forth the talents of an ambitious entrepreneur class, led by such men as Abel Stearns and William Hartnell.

Probably one of the pioneer's greatest achievements was the definite establishment of trial by jury. Walter Colton, the first

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American alcalde under the United States provisional government, in a statement typical of pioneer opinion, has said, "If there is anything on earth besides religion for which I would die, it is the right of trial by jury."<sup>(11)</sup>

Trial by jury was practically unknown in Spanish and Mexican jurisprudence. The local alcalde had few checks on his activities, as there was a paucity of properly trained lawyers, and for several years there were no attorneys at all.<sup>(12)</sup>

### 2.

Unobtrusively, resolutions began appearing, advocating adoption of the common law, and then positive legislative action took place. In the lower house, the Assembly, J. C. Brackett introduced the following resolution: "That the Committee on the Judiciary be and they are instructed to report to this house a brief and comprehensive act, substantially enacting that the Common Law of England, and all statutes and acts of Parliament down to a certain reign, which are of a general nature, not local to that kingdom, excluding, if advisable, any named statute or any particular portion of any named statute; which common law and statutes are not repugnant to or inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, the constitution of this state, and statute laws that now are or hereafter may be enacted, shall henceforth be the rule of action and decision in the State of California." On motion of its author, the resolution was laid on the table for future consideration.<sup>(13)</sup>

### 3.

On February 27, 1850, the Senate Judiciary Committee submitted its answer to the petition introduced by Senator Douglass, and in so doing, made a comparative study of the two systems of law, the common law and the Civil Law; it also made a recommendation as to which system of law California should adopt. To prepare this important document the standing committee appointed a special group, or as is known in modern parlance, a "subcommittee," composed of three distinguished gentlemen. Elisha Crosby served as chairman, Nathaniel Bennett and T. V. Vermeule being his associates.

For many years there were doubts as to who actually wrote the finished copy of the Report, some believing that Crosby wrote it, as he, himself, claimed, and others maintaining that Judge Bennett composed the paper.<sup>(14)</sup> The most logical solution, however, indicates that both men pooled their knowledge and style, a collabora-



tion which probably accounts for the high degree of scholarship and yet simplicity of exposition. This supposition is based on a passage from Crosby's autobiography:

"Among other things there came the question of the adoption of the Common Law as the rule governing the decisions of the courts in the absence of the statutes . . . Of course, being from the Common Law country and in favor of it . . . I thought it was vastly important that we should adopt the Common Law . . . I made a report on the matter, the subject of Common and Civil Law . . . I prepared the basis of this report and was assisted in its filling up by Bennett."<sup>(15)</sup>

Late in life, Crosby assumed full credit for the Report. Apparently, in his old age, Crosby wished to snare more accolades than were due to him.

4.

For practical purposes, the Report can be divided into several sections, the first explains the reasons for the Committee's finished product; the second consists of a description of the two systems of law, the common law being "that system of jurisprudence which, deducing its origin from the traditionary customs and simple laws of the Normans, enriched with the most valuable portions of the Civil Laws, modified and has come down to us, amended and improved by American legislation . . . To that system do we now owe the institution of trial by jury and . . . the writ of Habeas Corpus, both equally unknown in the Civil Law."<sup>(16)</sup>

To these scholarly Californians the Civil Law "is that system which, based upon the crude laws of a rough, fierce people, whose passion was war, and whose lust, conquest — received, in its progress through the various stages of civilization from barbarism to refinement, a variety of additions and alterations, from the *plebiscita* of the Roman Plebeians, from the adjudications of praetors, from the responses of men learned in the laws . . . until, in the ages of Christianity, the whole chaotic mass was . . . reduced into form and promulgated for observance by the Roman people, in the shape of four books called the institutes, fifty books known as the pandects, and certain additional adicts designated as the Novels of Justinian."<sup>(17)</sup> The Report then explained how the laws of Justinian were swept away by the Northern Barbarians and then, in the 12th century, resurrected by a despotic clergy and corrupt monarchies.

Essentially, members of the Committee sought to display the representative and progressive nature of the common law, its ability to preserve the liberties of the individual and yet maintain the com-

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monwealth intact. However, it must be kept in mind that the Committee did not advocate adopting the whole body of either the Common or the Civil Law. Rather, a plan was desired which would implement those sections of the two legal systems that were most conducive to the exigencies of an ever-changing California society.

When the Report completed its comparative analysis of the ecumenical growth of the two legal systems, it then turned the legislature's attention to the more technical aspects of the Common and Civil Law.

Many objections had been made regarding the oppressiveness of the Common Law, and in refuting this accusation, the Report made the following remarks:

. . . The objection (s), if any weight at all, is applicable only to the system as administered in England and her colonies, and not as it prevails in the United States. On the contrary, we maintain that nowhere do all great branches of national wealth thrive as vigorously and prosper to so great an extent, as they do under the countenance of the Common Law.<sup>(18)</sup>

From the economic aspect, the Report turned to domestic relations:

The Civil Law regards husband and wife, connected it is true by the nuptial tie, yet disunited in person, and with dissevered interests in property. It treats their union in the light of a partnership, no more intimate or confiding than an ordinary partnership in . . . business. Whereas, the Common Law deems the bond which unites husband and wife, so close in its connection, and for most purposes one in estate . . .<sup>(19)</sup>

The Report then gave a practical example of how the two legal systems operated upon the mercantile transaction, citing the hypothetical instance in which the Civil Law, under the doctrine of lesion, permits a purchaser to gain part pecuniary restitution for goods, on the grounds that said purchaser was overcharged, two to four years after the sale was consummated. The Common Law, however, leaves each party to act upon his own responsibility, and for his own interest, so long as the transaction shows no evidence of fraud or other activities prohibited by law.<sup>(20)</sup>

As one can perceive, the Committee exercised careful research in the preparation of this Report. They presented several cogent arguments favorable to the incorporation of the Common Law as the mode for transacting legal affairs in California, but there were other less manifest reasons for embracing this system of law. Of the thirty states then in the Union, twenty-nine were governed by the principles of the Common Law, and one, Louisiana, by the Civil Law, as adapted from the French legal system. Furthermore, had



the Civil Law been chosen, there would have been the possibility of inaccessibility to the necessary law books, for many of them were printed in foreign languages not cognizable to a majority of Californians and to the greater part of the state bar.<sup>(21)</sup>

When the Senate formally received the Committee Report, it ordered that five hundred copies be printed. Similar actions of approval took place in the Assembly, J. C. Brackett, mentioned elsewhere, introducing his bill substantially adopting the Common Law. It was accepted. The bill, as amended, was then sent to the Senate. On April 12, 1850, Senator Fair of the Judiciary Committee reported the bill without additional amendments. The rules were suspended, and the bill was passed with only scant opposition.<sup>(22)</sup> The next day, April 13, 1850, the Governor signed the common law bill into law.<sup>(23)</sup>

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18. *Ibid.*, p. 469.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 466. (After the common law had been officially adopted, special legislation was subsequently prepared to provide for community property with regard to the marital status, a rule almost identical to that of the Civil Law.)
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21. *Ibid.*, pp. 476-478.
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# The Spirit of the Trail

By Rockwell D. Hunt

**T**HE HISTORIC TRAIL in American development is not to be viewed as a single pathway "furrowed across the narrow band of the United States but as a part of a great total continental westward migration."<sup>1</sup>

The early hunter blasted his way through the deep forest; the trapper was the advance agent of civilization; the mountain man became the embodiment of Manifest Destiny — all unaware of their ambassadorship: each of them was a factor in the epic of Western expansion. They disported no motor cars; there was no prepared road-bed for cover or uncovered wagons; but each sturdy young man of them had his well-trained, sure-footed saddle-horse, each had his trusty long "shooting iron," and right well he knew how to use it.

"They were all forward pushing." What cared they for mere locale? province? or perilous terrain? As one looking down from outer space, they saw things large, boundless, forbidding. Danger was their constant companion — their horizon was broad, despite the darkening forest; their tread was ominous. Their present pierced the future. The exigencies of the trail made heroes out of renegades, put back-bone and "guts" into the spineless — they had to display prowess to live. If a youth started out to be a mountain man, he had to match his mountains — or ingloriously surrender and succumb.

But in the longer view the mountain man was a late-comer in the business of trail-making. First came the epochal forces told by geology working through untold centuries in the bowels of the earth, where time was no object, and through which geographic arrangements were effectuated on earth's surface. Evolving Nature wrought out the mountain passes, gave character and direction to the rivers, with their rioting rapids and shallow fords, located the treacherous quicksands, flattened the mesas, and gave birth to the short-cuts as well as to gorges and every barranca and arroyo. Study of any good relief map will aid in observing the handiwork of Nature in de-



signing and constructing pathways, trails, roads, and passes. The hardy mountain men, however, had no access to such maps — they had to learn their lesson the hard way.

Again, there were countless trails and pathways scattered over the land far beyond the span of human history, made by the wild life of the unspoiled wilderness. One needs only to follow the buffalo, or deer, or antelope to discover ingeniously devised trails leading from meadow to meadow or the dependable water supply. Who has not observed the innumerable runs of the ground squirrels, neatly arranged in horizontal circuits on the slopes of a steep hillside? I was a small boy on a dairy farm: every day I saw the plodding herd wend its peaceful way on the beaten paths, single-file — survival from prehistoric days — with no thought of deviation. In imagination I thought of the air-lanes of the myriads of migrating wild geese each year, as trails; even of the schools of salmon returning from ocean depths, searching out the very stream at whose mouth they — years before — entered salt water — astounding miracle of Nature! In manifold ways trail-making has been in progress through eons of time — it may be viewed as an aid to explain the never-ending struggle for existence.

### TRAIL

In this address I make no pretense of being an expert on the trails and passes leading into California in the pre-gold era or in the gold-rush period. I have not spent months of time — as some have done — in attempting to retrace every minute detail of any of the trails. I have great respect for those, like Herbert Bolton and Irene Paden, who have gone over every foot of the ground, amounting to hundreds of miles, with meticulous care and keen curiosity. I claim no such distinction or experience. I am reminded of the conclusions of Julia Cooley Altocchi that in reality the "California Trail," and the "Oregon Trail," in a strict sense, did not exist — there was no "single narrow furrow to the Coast."<sup>2</sup>

To be sure, in the course of time there were drawn certain definite lines by the huge lumbering covered wagons over considerable distances across the plains and over the mountains, enough to be identified and be given names; but in the earlier stages there was

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always an element of uncertainty and mystery, there were many detours and attempted cut-offs, always in search of a better way.

I am more concerned now with the spirit of the trail and of the Old Emigrant Road — of any and all of the devious paths leading to the promised land — rather than with the inconsequential question of whether they passed to the right or the left of some feature of nature, or whether the river was forded precisely there or a half-mile down-stream. The experiences — hardships, deprivations, sickness, triumphs, and conquests — were common to all the parties making the great trek: I prefer to think in terms of these human experiences. My mother's trip to California in the year 1854 was truly a *human* phenomenon — with a thousand incidents along the road.

I crave the privilege of pausing a moment to pay tribute to my mother, who came over and through these very same mountains 105 years ago in a train of covered wagons with her father and mother, brothers and sisters, and her own sick young husband, with her two baby boys. The condition of her afflicted husband had distinctly improved on the way, stirring the hope he would get well; but in passing the summit of the Sierra he had caught a fresh cold, he sank rapidly, and died in the mountains — inside California.

"His brave spirit," wrote my mother afterwards, "departed at Twin Lakes, a beautiful little valley on this side of the summit — so he died in California. We laid the body away in the best manner we possibly could, specially marking the grave so that emigrants passing that way for years afterward would take particular notice of it: in this way we could hear from it sometimes . . . There was no grass for the cattle. We must push on."<sup>3</sup>

It was that bereaved young widow, facing the realities of life with her two little boys in pioneer California, who after marriage to a sturdy bachelor who had preceded her by four years, became the mother of five other sons — my own precious mother. No wonder that these mountains, called by John Muir the "Range of Light," standing majestically round about, that these whispering pines, to-day take on a quality of sacredness of hallowed memory — it was here my mother had to carry her heavy cross: but her faith and her fortitude sustained her; she was a noble mother. Of her I may be pardoned for employing the words: "Many mothers have done virtuously, but she hath excelled them all."



The work of trail blazing and western exploration in the United States really began long before the formation of the Union: but with reference to the antecedents and genesis of California as an American state it may be more logical to begin with the 19th century. Mere mention, at least, should be made of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, when Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, under orders from President Jefferson, ascended the Missouri, crossed the Rocky Mountains, proceeded to the head of the Columbia, covering almost all of the country south of the 49th parallel. But no one would think of classifying Lewis and Clark as typical mountain men. And the same may be said of the party of their contemporary, Zebulon Pike of the U.S. Army. They were not on their own, but were more officially engaged in exploring portions of Louisiana Territory, resulting among other things, in the discovery of Pike's Peak.

But the appearance of Jedediah Strong Smith and his band in California in 1826 marks a basic change. There was the mountain man *par excellence*. Marvelous are the contributions of this "Knight in Buckskin." His exploits are commemorated by many societies bearing his name — and well they deserve to be.

Conspicuous among others who followed was Ewing Young, who as trapper and trader played a significant part in westward expansion; James Ohio Pattie, called "Surgeon Extraordinary," one of the strangest of all the strange adventurers; William Wolfskill, breaker of the Old Spanish Trail; Joseph Reddeford Walker, proceeded through Walker Pass and looked down upon Yosemite, miracle of nature, from the northern rim. Then there was Thomas Fitzpatrick — "Broken Hand" the Indians called him — who headed many trapping parties in the Rocky Mountains, then guided the Bartleson-Bidwell emigrants in 1841, which was fortunate, "for otherwise," declared Bidwell, "probably not one of us would ever have reached California."

But of all the famous mountain men of the first half of the nineteenth century, who served as guides to point the way, I would place none above Kit Carson, aptly called the "Nestor of the Rocky Mountains." It seems almost providential that young Lieutenant Frémont, by strange co-incidence, should discover him, then have the prescience to employ him as guide. Of Kit Carson it was said, "He led the way." He it was that quietly, effectively, with firm tread, moved about, and over, and through these mountains. With

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these granite breastworks and these rugged pines his name will be associated while the saga of California's beginnings continue to be told.

### WRITERS

Who are the writers that have faithfully recorded the stories of the immortal men, the early trappers and traders, the trail blazers and road builders, and all the others who, unconsciously fulfilling the behest of a mystical Manifest Destiny never yet accurately defined, showed the United States the way to the mighty Pacific? To them, also, we owe a debt of gratitude we cannot hope ever fully to repay. For the laying of a broad and suitable background we shall always honor Francis Parkman, who came to be regarded as the greatest American historian, though his brilliant works deal chiefly with the early French dominion; and Washington Irving, one of our most popular historians, author of *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains* — though one might wish he had done more for early California.

Personally, I have no reluctance in ascribing first place among California writers to Hubert Howe Bancroft, for his indispensable series on the Pacific States; though here again, the Bancroft volumes, not all of his own handiwork, cannot be compared to either Parkman or Irving in literary style or beauty. There is no place in the massive Bancroft collection where our present subject is given comprehensive treatment; but the patient reader is rewarded for his plodding, gleaning many relevant fragments in the history of Utah and of Oregon, as well as of California, not readily to be found elsewhere.

A high-ranking university teacher and writer was Frederic L. Paxson, whose book, *The Last American Frontier*, appeared in 1916, and whose Pulitzer Prize-winner, *History of the American Frontier*, followed in 1924. For good measure he has given us his Colver Lectures at Brown University, on *When the West is Gone*, in 1929. George Frederick Ruxton's *Life in the Far West*, published in the middle of the nineteenth century, has long been regarded a classic in its field, though hard to come by. Fortunately we now have a critically revised edition, by LeRoy Hafen, published in 1951. Even though most of Herbert E. Bolton's research studies fall within the Spanish régime, his broad-visioned purview, as in *The Epic of*



*Greater America* and his syllabus, *The History of the Americas*, qualifies him as a leader in deciphering the patterns of different trails and in giving some apprehension regarding the horizon of "a great total continental western migration."

The writings of three talented, industrious women must be given special mention. First, Agnes C. Laut, who in *The Overland Trail*, published in 1929, and her other works, added significantly to our knowledge of geography and its influence on the course of history; then Julia Cooley Altrocchi, in *The Old California Trail* (1945), who gives vitality and meaning to her thesis, "Trails are the script of life on the clay tablet of the earth"; and Irene D. Paden, who has shown infinite pains in revealing *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* (1943), an unusual book that "was evolved rather than written" during the family's spare time of a score of years."

A moment ago allusion was made to geography as a hand-maid to the history of trails and roads. Now I wish to add a second — and very important — hand-maid, geology, by referring to two writers: first is Daniel E. Willard, in his book *Adventures in Scenery — A Popular Reader of California Geology*, published in 1942, an attractive, well-illustrated volume revealing an explanation in nature of well-known passes and other striking features, and supplied with a good glossary. The other is William J. Miller, in his *California Through the Ages — The Geologic Story of a Great State* (1957). This is a fascinating preparation for the historian, with "the almost romantic geologic story of California." Dr. Miller is not only a foremost geologist, he is a native of the state; not the only scientist that has pronounced California truly a geologic wonderland.

LeRoy R. Hafen, historian of Colorado, takes high rank as a talented, painstaking, and devoted student in our field, with his *Broken Hand: The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick* (with W. J. Ghent), published in 1931, *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields* (1942), and other works. He possesses the gift of bringing his readers close to the actual scene. I must not omit John Bidwell, pioneer of 1841, who, far from claiming to be a historian, preserved for us *A Journey to California* (from his diary), and "The First Emigrant Train to California," published in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, in 1890. The outstanding contributions of Frederick Jackson Turner and Reuben Gold Thwaites are too well-known to require any detail.

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Among still other writers who have enriched our literature in this broad field I can do nothing more than mention the names of some: Hiram M. Chittenden, Edwin Erle Sparks, Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Stanley Vestal, John C. Frémont, Edwin Bryant, Albert D. Richardson, Ezra Meeker, Myron Eels, Jesse Applegate, Peter H. Burnett, Katherine Coman, Edwin L. Sabin, Joseph Schafer, Maurice S. Sullivan, George R. Stewart, Owen C. Coy, Archer B. Hulbert, Dan Elbert Clark — but the list is too long! Inevitably some names must be omitted. What a story they have told us! What a heritage is ours!

By his manner of life, the typical mountain man usually unfitted himself for any other calling, and for the amenities of what we call polite society. He was born — or reborn — a child of nature; the spirit of adventure was in his blood; his vocation forbade that he should stay long in a given place, but it urged him on and on. He gloried in his unhampered freedom and dangerous living. To be successful he must possess personal courage and original cleverness in meeting new, strange, often perilous situations. He has won popular interest and acclaim — and he deserves all this. He has been a significant, almost indispensable factor in the building of the great American Commonwealth and in extending its borders to the Pacific.

Still, the picture is not complete without introducing another breed of mountain men, following the type of mid-nineteenth century. These were “men of culture, whose speech was chaste, whose writing has become classic.”<sup>4</sup>

Mere reference to the names of men of this group will make my meaning clear. Heading the list I place John Muir, “John of the Mountain”; then William Keith, “Master of California Landscape”; another, Joseph LeConte, a natural scientist who could envision “the priceless value of loving hearts”; John Bidwell, with whom education never ended; and David Starr Jordan, always at home whether in the presence of the granite Sierra or of noble men. Such was a galaxy of Mountain Men of Another Breed, trail blazers to a renascent West, harbingers of a world of true enlightenment, of law, and of love.

I must not make the mistake of supposing that all the early American immigrants, including the hosts of gold hunters of '49, came to California over a well-beaten trail, or clearly-mapped road.



Many and devious were the ways leading to the land of El Dorado — all were beset with difficulties and hardships hardly imaginable even a generation later. Many came south from Oregon territory; others made their way precariously, from Mexico and Central America. An overwhelming majority of American immigrants, however, did select some one of three main routes from "the States," that is, "Across the Plains," "By way of the Isthmus," and "Around the Horn."

The young bachelor who later became my father came from New York in 1850, by way of the Isthmus of Panama; the young woman who became my noble mother came in 1854 across the plains, the deserts, and the mountains, by means of the covered wagon. I cannot forbear to mention a single incident. In August of 1954, I made the non-stop flight by airplane from New York to Los Angeles in a single afternoon. While soaring aloft I could not help thinking of my mother arriving in Sacramento Valley, from Illinois, in that same month, after more than three months of hardship — the change in transportation in exactly a century of time!

Nor must I yield to the temptation to recount varied experiences on the trail — even the old Emigrant Road. It would avail nothing to repeat here the number of abandoned wagons that were seen, by actual count, along the road in a single mile, or how many skeletons of famished oxen were found bleaching by the way, or how fragile wooden crosses marked the shallow graves of travelers who had fallen by the wayside — such a cataloging is grimly historical. Excellent accounts by devoted, enthusiastic writers, even a limited number of diaries and contemporary records, are available. But it is a thrilling story, full of vitality, rich in prophecy, a story that should be read and reread by loyal Californians. Not in spite of these experiences and vicissitudes but because our hardy forebears endured them and survived, there came to birth out here on the Pacific our great commonwealth, the puissant Golden State, thirty-first star in our glorious galaxy. It is a story of truly epic proportions, in which the chief characters were men and women of heroic stature. No wonder the Poet of the Sierras apotheosized the men of '49:

*"And every man somehow a man.  
They pushed the mailed wood aside,  
They tossed the forest like a toy,  
That grand forgotten race of men —  
The boldest band that yet has been  
Together since the siege of Troy."*

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This day, the 11th of July, A.D. 1959, set apart for the dedication of two markers for sites on the old Emigrant Road, in Alpine and Amador Counties, is a memorable day in the history of these counties — indeed of the State of California. The inscription on the plaque for Landmark Number 661 reads:

**OLD EMIGRANT ROAD**

HERE THE OLD EMIGRANT ROAD OF 1848 SWUNG  
DOWN ACROSS THE MEADOW NOW COVERED BY  
CAPLES LAKE (TWIN LAKES) AND CLIMBED ALONG THE  
RIDGE AT THE RIGHT TO THE GAP AT THE HEAD OF THE  
VALLEY. FROM THIS SUMMIT (9,460 FEET) IT DESCENDED  
TO PLACERVILLE. THIS ROUGH AND CIRCUITOUS SEC-  
TION BECAME OBSOLETE IN 1863 WHEN A BETTER  
ROUTE WAS BLASTED OUT OF THE FACE OF THE CLIFF  
AT CARSON SPUR.

CALIFORNIA REGISTERED HISTORICAL LANDMARK  
No. 661

PLAQUE PLACED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE PARK COM-  
MISSION IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE SILVER LAKE  
CAMPER'S ASSOCIATION, JULY 11, 1959.



The inscription on the plaque for Landmark Number 662 reads:

**OLD EMIGRANT ROAD**

AT THIS PLACE THE HIGHWAY CROSSES THE SITE OF THE  
OLD EMIGRANT ROAD WHICH HERE BEGAN A LONG  
LOOP AROUND THE SILVER LAKE BASIN, TAKING IT TO  
AN ELEVATION OF 9,640 FEET AT ONE PLACE. THIS  
DIFFICULT PORTION OF THE ROAD WAS USED BY  
THOUSANDS OF VEHICLES FROM 1848 TO 1863, WHEN  
IT WAS SUPERSEDED BY A ROUTE APPROXIMATING  
THE PRESENT HIGHWAY.

CALIFORNIA REGISTERED HISTORICAL LANDMARK  
No. 662.

PLAQUE PLACED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE PARK COM-  
MISSION IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE SILVER LAKE  
CAMPER'S ASSOCIATION, JULY 11, 1959.

As a native Californian and a devoted lover of my great State, I am highly honored — and I deem it an exalted privilege — to represent my fellow Californians on this historic day, not only those

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gathered here on this sacred spot but the unnumbered throngs who will pass this way in days and years to come, and who will pause to take note of what we have done this eleventh day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine.

Methods of transportation have undergone complete transformation even in my own time. We no longer depend upon the saddle horse, or the well-trained team of horses for the stage coach, or the long train of pack-mules or caravans of ox-drawn covered wagons. But we do well to remember that each of these factors has played its important part — remember, and be grateful! And as with transportation, so with communication — how revolutionary! How miraculous the changes that have now become commonplace! It used to be said, “gold in the fire loses nothing but dross”; so it is with virtue, integrity, nobility, wisdom — these abide the same in the world of change, unmoved by any vicissitude, any ephemeral incidents, sitting serenely and sovereignly from age to age. I quote prophetic words from the matchless address at the dedication of the laying of the Atlantic Cable, September 27, 1858, by Colonel Edward D. Baker, peerless orator and patriot:

As we transmit our institutions, so shall we transmit our blood and our names to future ages and populations. What multitudes shall throng these shores, what cities shall gem the borders of the sea! Here all peoples and all tongues shall meet. Here shall be a more perfect civilization, a more thorough intellectual development, a firmer faith, a more reverent worship.

Perhaps, as we look back to the struggle of an earlier age, and mark the steps of our ancestors in the career we have traced, so some thoughtful man of letters in ages yet to come may bring to light the history of this shore or of this day. I am sure, fellow citizens, that whoever shall hereafter read it will perceive that our pride and joy are dimmed by no stain of selfishness. Our pride is for humanity; our joy is for the world; and amid all the wonders of past achievement and all the splendors of present success, we turn with swelling hearts to gaze into the boundless future, with the earnest conviction that it will develop a universal brotherhood of man.



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

NOTES

1. Julia Cooley Altrocchi, *The Old California Trail*, p. 16.
2. *Op. cit.*, 25.
3. *Overland Monthly*, April, 1916.
4. See "California Mountain Men of Another Breed," *Historical Society of Southern California*, QUARTERLY, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (June, 1952).

THE FOREGOING ADDRESS WAS PREPARED BY DR. ROCKWELL D. HUNT FOR DELIVERY ON JULY 11, 1959, AT THE PLACING OF CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL MARKERS (Nos. 661 and 662) ALONG THE "OLD EMIGRANT ROAD" AT TRAGEDY SPRINGS, AMADOR COUNTY, CALIFORNIA. DUE TO ILLNESS, THE FAMED HISTORIAN WAS NOT ABLE TO ATTEND THE CEREMONIES AND, IN HIS PLACE, THE ADDRESS WAS DELIVERED BY DR. R. COKE WOOD, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE OF CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

# With Colonel Carleton *and the* California Column

By Leo P. Kibby



ON JULY 22, 1861, President Lincoln signed an act which authorized the use of volunteers to aid in enforcing federal laws and protecting government property.<sup>1</sup> It was under this act that the California Volunteer Organization, eventually to total over 16,000 men, came into being.<sup>2</sup>

On August 14, 1861, the War Department requested California's Governor Downey to organize, equip, and muster into service four regiments of infantry and one of cavalry.<sup>3</sup> The War Department also indicated that the military purpose of this unit was to be that of protecting the overland mail route between California and the Eastern states by way of Salt Lake City.<sup>4</sup> The next day, August 15, another order was received from the War Department requesting that James H. Carleton be made a Colonel of a cavalry regiment with authority to organize the regiment immediately.<sup>5</sup> On September 2, Governor Downey reported to President Lincoln that the first requisition made upon this state for volunteers had been filled and that the command had been given to Colonel Carleton.<sup>6</sup> Continuing, Governor Downey recommended that Carleton be promoted to Brigadier General for he knew of no one more deserving than Colonel Carleton nor one who would reflect more credit on the state of California.<sup>7</sup>

Regiments of the original force of California volunteers formed at Oakland, California, and by October 1, were ready for active field service. Instead of being sent to guard the overland mail route, as originally ordered, the troops were assigned to Southern California by order of General Sumner, Commander of the Department of the Pacific.<sup>8</sup> This action had been taken because the spirit of rebellion had become manifest in California, particularly in Southern California and specifically in San Bernardino, "the hotbed of secessionism in California."<sup>9</sup>



In the meantime significant military administrative changes were being made: General Sumner was called east to assume another assignment; on October 20, Colonel Wright, Ninth United States Infantry, in command of the District of Southern California, became Commander of the Department of the Pacific<sup>10</sup> after having transferred command of the Southern District of California to Colonel Carleton.<sup>11</sup>

It was fast becoming apparent that California and the Pacific Coast were attractions to both the Union and the Confederacy. In the early part of the war, Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, commanding the Confederate army in New Mexico, had made gains through having organized the Confederate Territory of Arizona.<sup>12</sup> It had become known, too, that the Confederates were in control of posts in Arizona and New Mexico.<sup>13</sup> As early as October, 1861, Carleton had mentioned that Fort Yuma was, from a strategic point of view, an outpost to all of southern California and on the line from whence must come "the only troops which can possibly menace the State from Texas or Arizona overland."<sup>14</sup> In a letter to Colonel West, in command of the First Infantry, California Volunteers, Carleton said: "If you use circumspection, you can never be surprised there [Fort Yuma]. If you are not surprised, your force properly managed, with the desert as an auxiliary, will never be whipped, to say the least."<sup>15</sup> As an added precaution to cope with the threat of Confederate invasion of California Carleton required all persons passing into Sonora, Mexico, or Arizona from California, and those entering California at Fort Yuma, to take an oath of allegiance.<sup>16</sup> Those who would not take the oath were placed in the same category as an avowed enemy of the Government and were to be held in confinement.<sup>17</sup>

Learning of the Confederate occupation of New Mexico and Arizona, General Wright on December 9 suggested to the War Department that the Government would be better served if the California troops were thrown into Arizona for the purpose of assisting the federal forces in driving out the rebels. Moreover, this arrangement would serve as a safeguard against any invasion of the Pacific Coast from this quarter.<sup>18</sup> On December 18, General McClellan endorsed General Wright's suggestions,<sup>19</sup> and Colonel Carleton was authorized "to organize and fit out the expedition."<sup>20</sup>

The resultant expedition, known as the California Column,<sup>21</sup> was composed of over 2,000 officers and enlisted men. It consisted of the First Regiment of Cavalry,<sup>22</sup> the First and Fifth Regiments of Infantry,<sup>23</sup> and Company B of the Second Regiment of Cavalry.<sup>24</sup> No records exist of the stations of Company B from February 28,

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1862, to January 31, 1863, though most of its time was spent enroute to New Mexico.<sup>25</sup> While in New Mexico, Company B spent most of its time at Fort Sumner, being there from January 31, 1863, to February 29, 1864.<sup>26</sup> After this last date Company B returned to California and later was sent to Nevada where it remained until April 30, 1866.<sup>27</sup> Assigned also to the Column was Company A, Third U.S. Artillery.

The history of the experiences and hardships, the struggles, uncertainties, and risks of the California Column read like modern fiction. It left Los Angeles on April 13, 1862,<sup>28</sup> and troops in the advance Guard first reached the Rio Grande River on July 4, 1862.<sup>29</sup> In spite of great odds the expedition was indeed a great success — a fitting tribute both to the leadership of the Column's commander, Carleton, and to the perseverance and integrity of the men themselves.

From Los Angeles to the Rio Grande River it was necessary to cover a distance of nearly a thousand miles and fight constantly not only with the Indians, but with the forces of nature also. Starting with the situation in California, "not for twenty years had a winter of such severity occurred . . . The whole country was flooded; hundreds of horses and cattle mired down in the plains and were lost."<sup>30</sup> From Los Angeles the troops were first moved toward Fort Yuma by companies of twos and threes. One hundred and twenty miles from Los Angeles enroute to Fort Yuma, Camp Wright was formed as a sub-depot near the Yuma desert.<sup>31</sup> From Camp Wright to Fort Yuma, a distance of 180 miles, it was continuous desert, without vegetation, and with a scarcity of water. Available water was of inferior quality and sometimes brackish. Carleton made it a practice to send out advance parties to clean out existing wells and dig new ones before marching the troops.<sup>32</sup>

Absence of pasturage along the way did not allow the livestock to forage; thus additional travel problems ensued. Nor were these problems solved upon reaching Fort Yuma. Marching troops of the Column continued to experience hunger, thirst, and fatigue as they journeyed eastward. On one occasion they marched all night until 12:30 P.M. the following day with but one cup of coffee to sustain each man. This experience was further aggravated by the fact that a portion of the march was through mud and water half knee-deep and by having two fights with unfriendly Indians.<sup>33</sup> Even the cavalry horses had nothing to eat for two days and nights.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Carleton's remarks summarize the situation adequately when he indicated that the march of the California Column across the desert from the Pacific to the Rio Grande River "was not ac-



completed without immense toil and great hardships or without many privations and much suffering from heat and want of water."<sup>35</sup> It was, indeed, Carleton continued, "a military achievement creditable to the soldiers of the American Army."<sup>36</sup>

Along the route over which the California Column marched to El Paso were unfriendly Indians. On July 19, 1862, Captain Roberts<sup>37</sup> of the First Infantry reported from San Simon Station that he had found the Apache Indians to be hostile. The Indians had actually attacked and killed California troops. Carleton, also, had found similar conditions to exist and in one report told how he had established a post in the summer of 1862 at Apache Pass to be known as Fort Bowie, because of the hostile attitude of the Chi-ri-ca-hua Indians.<sup>38</sup>

From Fort Yuma the next leg of the march was to Pima Villages, a journey which proved to be most fatiguing because of the intense heat suffered and the ever-present alkali dust. Here at Pima Village lived friendly Indians who engaged in agriculture, and who cultivated large quantities of wheat, some of which Carleton was able to purchase.

About half way between Fort Yuma and the Rio Grande River lay the important city of Tucson, Arizona, with a population of 400 or 500 people, mostly Mexicans. A few Americans and foreigners lived there, "principally gamblers and ruffians, traitors to their country — Secessionists."<sup>39</sup>

By May 25, 1862, Carleton was able to report that not only had Colonel West taken possession of Tucson on May 20 "without firing a shot" but that all secessionists in the Territory apparently had fled.<sup>40</sup> It was here that Carleton on June 8, proclaimed the Territory of Arizona, occupied by the Column from California, to be under martial law with himself as military governor.<sup>41</sup> On June 28, General Wright approved and confirmed Carleton's proclamation and noted that it was to "remain in force until the civil authority shall be reestablished in the Territory."<sup>42</sup>

At Tucson Carleton sought to enforce law and order. It was his wish to arrange matters in such fashion "so that when a man does have his throat cut, his house robbed, or his fields ravaged, he may at least have the consolation of knowing there is some law that will reach him who does the injury."<sup>43</sup> Even now Carleton was sending to Fort Yuma for confinement "nine of the cutthroats, gamblers, and loafers who have infested this town to the great bodily fear of all good citizens."<sup>44</sup>

July 17, 1862, was an unusual occasion for Carleton and the California Column. On this date Carleton ordered the Column from

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California to move from Tucson to the Rio Grande. Moreover, he expressed the view that this was now "the time when every soldier in this column looks forward with a confident hope that he, too, will have the distinguished honor of striking a blow for the Old Stars and Stripes" and when he also feels "that he is the champion of the holiest cause that has ever yet nerved the arm of a patriot."<sup>45</sup> Carleton himself must have been intrigued for on this occasion he observed that all, especially those who from their own guilt had been so unfortunate as to be prisoners, should remember this occasion. Therefore, he ordered all soldiers under his command now being held in confinement to be released immediately.<sup>46</sup>

In spite of great handicaps the advance guard of the California Column under Lieutenant Colonel E. E. Eyre had succeeded in reaching the Rio Grande in good order on July 4, 1862, and had occupied Fort Thorn, near El Paso, on the following day.<sup>47</sup> For this feat Carleton expressed great praise, saying,<sup>48</sup>

The energy, enterprise, and resources of Colonel Eyre, as exhibited in his rapid march from Tucson to the Rio Grande; his crossing of that river, and his unlooked-for presence directly upon the heels of the retreating rebels, cannot be too highly appreciated. He exhibited some of the finest qualities of a soldier . . . But for his timely arrival on the Rio Grande, Las Cruces and Mesilla would have both been laid in ashes by the enemy.

Carleton was an extremely able military leader. It will be recalled that the War Department especially requested that he be placed in command of the California Cavalry regiment,<sup>49</sup> and Governor Downey had informed Lincoln that in his opinion no one would reflect more credit on the State of California than Carleton.<sup>50</sup> Carleton's position was no doubt due in part to the high esteem he held for the men under his command. Writing to General Canby, Commander of the Department of New Mexico, Carleton reported that his men were "as fine material as any in the service."<sup>51</sup> Again, on June 15, he said that his men were "the finest material I have ever seen and anxious to strike a blow for the cause [of the Union]."<sup>52</sup>

Looking after his men, Carleton stressed health first, then discipline.<sup>53</sup> The success of this philosophy was reflected in the fact that in the march from the Pacific to the Rio Grande from April 13, 1862, to August 8, of the same year, not a single death occurred and there was little sickness.<sup>54</sup>

Carleton's qualities were reflected in other ways. While encamped on the Miembres River in Arizona he learned that some twenty families of men, women, and children at the Pino Alto mines were in want of food because of having been robbed by In-



dians and secessionists. To these people Carleton ordered that provisions consisting of beef, pemmican, flour, and sugar be sent.<sup>55</sup>

In another matter Carleton, in a directive from Franklin, Texas, to the commander of the Confederate troops then at San Antonio, Texas, stated that he had found upon his arrival at this position some twenty odd sick and wounded soldiers of the Confederate army. Moreover, he had been ordered by his superior officer, General Canby, to make these soldiers prisoners of war.<sup>56</sup> Now, he paroled them, furnished them with forty days rations and medicines, transportation, and a protective escort to guard them from Mexicans or Indians who might attack them. The escort would remain "until a sufficient force from your army is met, to whom they may be transferred, or until they reach some point near San Antonio, where from thence onward they can travel with safety."<sup>57</sup>

Carleton had great faith in his men. In a report to General Canby he said:<sup>58</sup>

We have not crossed the continent thus far to split hairs, but with an earnest resolution to do our duty whatever be our geographical position . . . it would be a sad disappointment to those from California if they should be obliged to retrace their steps without feeling the enemy.

On August 26, 1862, Carleton was sent special orders directing him to relieve General Canby as Commander of the Department of New Mexico.<sup>59</sup> On September 5, Carleton issued orders transferring his command of the District of Arizona to Colonel Joseph R. West.<sup>60</sup> On September 21, after entering upon the duties of the new assignment which would remove him from his former association with the California Column,<sup>61</sup> Carleton expressed grateful acknowledgment to the officers and men of that command. He commented as follows:<sup>62</sup>

Traversing a desert country, that has heretofore been regarded as impracticable for the operations of large bodies of troops, they have reached their destination, and accomplished the object assigned them, not only without loss of any kind, but improved in discipline, in morale, and in every other element of efficiency . . . California has reason to be proud of the sons she has sent across the continent to assist in the great struggle in which our country is now engaged.

#### CHRONOLOGY — 1861

- July 22 — Act authorizing use of volunteers signed by President Lincoln.
- August 14 — War Department requested California's Governor Downey for military assistance.
- September 2 — Governor Downey reported that the first request for volunteers had been filled and that Colonel James H. Carleton had been assigned to command the unit.
- October 14 — Colonel Carleton assumed command of the Southern District of California.
- December 18 — Formation of expedition known as the California Column; the command was authorized by General McClellan and assigned to Colonel Carleton.

## With Colonel Carleton and the California Column

1862

- April 13 — Expedition left Los Angeles for the Rio Grande River and El Paso, Texas.  
April 29 — Carleton arrived at Fort Yuma, Arizona.  
May 20 — Tucson fell to Colonel Joseph R. West.  
June 8 — Territory of Arizona placed under martial law by Colonel Carleton.  
June 8 — Carleton assigned himself as military Governor of the Territory of Arizona.  
June 22 — Advance Column, under Lieutenant Colonel Edward E. Eyre, was dispatched by Colonel Carleton.  
July 4 — Advance Column arrived at the Rio Grande River.  
July 5 — Advance Guard occupied Fort Thorn, near El Paso.  
July 17 — Carleton ordered the remainder of the California Column at Tucson to move to the Rio Grande River.  
August 8 — Column arrived at the Rio Grande.  
September 2 — Carleton received orders to relieve General Edward R. S. Canby as Commander of the Department of New Mexico.  
September 5 — Colonel West succeeded Carleton as Commander of the District of Arizona.  
September 16 — Carleton arrived at Santa Fé.  
September 18 — Carleton relieved General Canby as Commander of the Department of New Mexico.

### ROUTE OF THE CALIFORNIA COLUMN<sup>1</sup>

From Los Angeles the California Column traveled easterly through Monte (El Monte) to Riverside, then southeasterly to Temecula, thence to Camp Wright at Oak Grove, then to Warner's Ranch at Warner's Springs. From Warner's Springs the Column proceeded into Mexico at a point near Calexico, eastward through Algodones, then to Fort Yuma. From Fort Yuma the Column journeyed to Gila Bend and continued beyond for another sixty miles to Pima Villages. From Pima Villages the Column marched southeasterly to Tucson, thence easterly (marked by present day highway 80) to Benson, Willcox, and San Simon. After crossing into New Mexico the Column continued through Lordsburg to Cooke's Springs, then to Mesilla just across the Rio Grande River (near the present city of Las Cruces), and finally to El Paso.

1. Colonel Carleton's marching orders to all troops and trains, April 21, 1862. *O. R.* 50, part 1, pp. 1017-1018.

### APPROXIMATE DISTANCES

from one main camp to another in the March of the California Column.		
From	To	Miles
Los Angeles .....	Camp Wright .....	120 <sup>1</sup>
Camp Wright .....	Fort Yuma, Arizona .....	180 <sup>1</sup>
Fort Yuma .....	Pima Villages, Arizona .....	200 <sup>2</sup>
Pima Villages .....	Tucson, Arizona .....	81 <sup>2</sup>
Tucson .....	El Paso, Texas .....	369 <sup>2</sup>
TOTAL .....		950

<sup>1</sup> As reported by: McNulty Report, *O.R.*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> As reported by: J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869, p. 292.

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7. *Ibid.*
8. Report of Surgeon McNulty, *Official Records*, *loc. cit.*
9. *Ibid.*
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31. *Ibid.*
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# Courthouses of Los Angeles County

*By Granville Arthur Waldron*

## INTRODUCTION

HE STORY OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY'S COURTHOUSES is largely one of the growth and development of the County. For as its population increased, so did the need for larger and more commodious courthouses. The resultant growth of the county court system and the eventual development of the Superior Court is attested to by the historical progression of the various quarters used. Some of these were merely rooms in homes, which were occupied for brief periods, especially during the incipient stages; others were buildings, which were leased by the County for this purpose. In several instances the County constructed buildings specifically to house the courts.


This story concerns itself primarily with locating, identifying, and placing these buildings in chronological sequence. The source of material for this story was found in extant primary public documents (Mexican records, Minutes of the Court of Sessions and Board of Supervisors, warrants and abstracts of deeds) held in the archives of the County Clerk of Los Angeles County. These documents were subjected to critical examination and analysis, and while primary reliance was placed on them, certain other secondary material and contemporary comments were used either to strengthen or to provide further explanation of events. Several newspaper files were consulted, as well as the Wilson Papers held by the Huntington Library. Thus it was possible to piece together the somewhat fragmentary account of the courthouses of Los Angeles County.

To properly set the stage for relating this story it is helpful to know something of the history of California from the Spanish through the Mexican periods to the acquisition of California by the United States, followed by the establishment of Los Angeles County. Several Americans are important in this history because they are representative of those whose contributions facilitated the trans-



ition from Mexican to American rule. One of these, Abel Stearns, an entrepreneur, was an American-born, naturalized Mexican citizen, who became well established in California business enterprises and held various posts during the American military period. The other, Benjamin Davis Wilson, also a businessman during this critical time, was elected County Clerk in the initial County elections. He subsequently held several other important elective offices and contributed materially to the economic progress of Los Angeles through the development of its natural resources.

### THE PRELUDE

UAN RODRIQUEZ CABRILLO, an explorer sent out by the viceroy of New Spain, was the first authenticated visitor to California when he discovered San Diego Bay in 1542. During two centuries of sporadic exploration up and down the coast of California following Cabrillo's visit, Spain contemplated occupation of the new territory, but was otherwise concerned with more important affairs. Then, during the 1760's, when Russia and England evinced interest in the North Pacific, Spain began the colonization of California through the establishment of *presidios* (fortified towns) and missions. Thus Los Angeles was founded by a group of forty-four settlers on September 4, 1781.

Spain continued to rule over California until the 1820's, when Mexico (of which California was a part) declared its independence from Spain and formed a republic. Thus began a generation of Mexican rule in California. However, Mexican officials were preoccupied with the turbulent political situation in the new nation and did little to encourage native development of this out-lying province's resources.

Gradually the government of the United States began to realize that California would make a valuable addition to the Union. Small numbers of American settlers had already been filtering into the province to supplement the native-born Californians.

Dissatisfied with the lethargic Mexican rule and eager to make California a United States possession, a group of impetuous American settlers touched off the Bear Flag Revolt in northern California on June 10, 1846. The preceding month (unknown to them) the United States and Mexico had gone to war over American claims arising from the Mexican war of independence against Spain, the question of the annexation of Texas, and other issues.

On July 7, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat raised the American flag at Monterey with a proclamation to the effect that Cali-

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fornia was to be a portion of the United States. Further, he went on to promise Californians full privileges of citizenship.

Resistance on the part of the native Californians in Southern California came to an end with the signing of the so-called Cahuenga Capitulation on January 13, 1847. The war with Mexico was concluded by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, by the terms of which much of the American Southwest, including California, was ceded to the United States.

American military law was invoked immediately following the occupation of Monterey, and few changes were made in the former Mexican system. In fact, the local officials were encouraged to continue functioning under the American military governor. During the Spanish period the law and administration of justice in California had been in the hands of the *presidio* commanders and of the mission padres. During the Spanish and Mexican periods the chief administrative functions of local government were carried on through the *alcalde* system. An *alcalde* was an official chosen by his fellow townspeople and charged with the duty of preserving good order and public tranquility. In a later period, however, the authority and power of the *alcalde* was greatly expanded and strengthened.

Undoubtedly the most colorful of the *alcaldes* during the closing days of the Mexican period was Abel Stearns. Robert Glass Cleland considers him, "The personification of both the Southern California of the Mexican tradition and the Southern California of the American."<sup>1</sup> Mention is made of his illustrious life because he is representative of the Americans who settled in California during the Mexican period. Many became Mexican citizens and adopted the simple but dignified pastoral life of a *ranchero*. Many married Mexican women, learned to speak Spanish, and accepted local culture and customs. Some of these men gained prominence in Mexican civic and business affairs. Yet, when California was threatened with acquisition by the United States, few resisted. Some were even active in assisting this effort, accumulating wealth and influence after California became a state. Abel Stearns was one of these men.

Stearns was born in Lunenburg, Massachusetts, in either 1798 or 1801.<sup>2</sup> At the age of twelve he went to sea, engaging in the South American and China trade. Lured by the promise of adventure, he gave up his seafaring pursuits in 1827 and obtained a passport to Mexico. His career there was brief, but eventful and rewarding. He became a naturalized Mexican citizen, and obtained from the Mexican government a "shadowy" concession to a tract of land in California. He moved to Los Angeles in 1833, and established himself



as a merchant. Through his business acumen (due in no small degree to his innate Yankee shrewdness) he rapidly became the wealthiest merchant in Southern California. During 1831 he became embroiled in smuggling activities and was asked to leave California on two separate occasions by two different Mexican governors but on both occasions a sudden turn of events precluded his expulsion.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after arriving in Los Angeles, Stearns formed a lasting friendship with Don Juan Bandini, owner of several large ranchos, and in 1841, at the age of forty, married Bandini's beautiful fourteen-year-old daughter, Arcadia. Don Abel, as the Californians called him, purchased a plot of land at the southwest corner of Main and Arcadia streets for \$150. One of Los Angeles' historians reports,

"There was no house in the pueblo which he felt could do justice to his bride. So he built her the handsomest edifice in southern California. It was christened *El Palacio de Don Abel* by the pueblo, and became both a social and political center."<sup>4</sup>

*El Palacio*, a single-story rambling adobe, three years in the building, was completed in 1838. Within its walls Stearns conducted the official functions of his position as *alcalde*. (Actually, *El Palacio* was used for courtroom purposes between the County's period of organization and its official establishment four months later in mid-1850.) During 1850, Don Abel erected the two-story brick Arcadia Block adjacent to *El Palacio*, on the southwest corner of Arcadia and Los Angeles Street. Immediately recognized as the largest business block south of San Francisco, it contained eight stores and represented an investment of about \$85,000.<sup>6</sup>

Stearns was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849, aiding in the writing of California's first state constitution. He served as a member of the Common Council of the City of Los Angeles, which was the predecessor of the present day City Council. In 1860, he served as a member of the State Assembly.

The Great Drought of 1862 took Don Abel to the brink of financial ruin where he remained for six years, for he had lost thousands of head of cattle and several large ranchos, in addition to much of his personal fortune. Facing foreclosure on the Arcadia Block, he formed a trust to subdivide his remaining ranchos and sell the tracts at a time when settlement was rampant. The profits from these sales were sufficient to afford him financial recovery. When he died on August 23, 1871, in San Francisco, at the age of seventy-two, he had been busy amassing another great fortune.<sup>6</sup>

Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, American military government was continued in effect. However, despite the

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fact that the native Californians were satisfied with martial order, the Americans demanded the immediate establishment of an American civil government. They found particular fault with the *alcalde* system, specifically its disregard for the separation of powers, and the wide range of its authority, which occasionally was misused.

In Washington, objections to the establishment of civil government in California were attributed to the large Mexican or non-American population, and the question of slavery extension. Disgusted with the delay these arguments caused, the Americans in California called a number of meetings throughout the northern part of the state to discuss the forming of a constitutional assembly. The purposes of this assembly was to ensure residents of California their constitutional rights, which they felt had been abridged, by replacing military rule with civil government. When it became apparent that Congress had adjourned without providing answers to California's problems, the military governor, General Bennett Riley, called a constitutional convention for September 1, 1849.<sup>7</sup>

He divided the territory into ten districts, each sending a designated number of representatives. These representatives, forty-eight in all, met in Monterey. The most significant work of this convention was the framing of a constitution and the reaching of a compromise on the eastern border of the state. Since the gold rush had resulted in a large influx of population, the convention decided to circumvent the territorial phase experienced by other states and proceeded immediately to form a state government.

Besides ratifying the constitution, the elections of November 13, 1849, named a governor, lieutenant governor, two congressmen, and members of the state legislature. The first state legislature met in December of the same year. The impatient Californians did not wait for formal state admission which came on September 9, 1850, but began operating the state government immediately. The first governor, Peter Burnett, was sworn into office on December 20, 1849. One of the first official tasks of the legislature was to pass an act, signed by Governor Burnett on February 18, 1850, dividing the state into twenty-seven counties. This act was designed to hasten the establishment of civil government, especially at the municipal level. Los Angeles, as one of these original counties, was allocated very little geographical area. (Subsequent acts by the legislature expanded, then reduced the size until it appears as it is at present.) The state legislature then ordered elections to be held in the counties on April 1, 1850, for the purpose of electing county officials. In Los Angeles 377 votes were cast out of an estimated population of 1,610, electing the following:<sup>8</sup> Agustin Olvera, county



judge; Ignacio del Valle, recorder; Antonio F. Coronel, assessor; Manuel Garfias, treasurer; Benito D. Wilson, county clerk; George T. Burrill, sheriff; Benjamin Hayes, county attorney; J. R. Conway, surveyor and Charles B. Cullen, coroner.

Apparently these officials were somewhat confused as to what duties they were to perform and how they were to organize the county government. They logically turned to the state for advice and explained their plight to Governor Burnett in this letter, dated April 20, 1850:

To his Excellency, Peter F. Burnett, Governor of the State of California

Sir: The undersigned would respectfully state that at the election held on the 1st inst., in the county of Los Angeles, they were elected to the several offices respectively mentioned, but, in the absence of any laws, it has been found impracticable to organize the courts, or otherwise enter upon the discharge of their duties. Yet is it [sic] of the highest importance, that this large and flourishing county should not remain in uncertainty as to the laws governing it, all its business neglected, its improvement uncared-for, and the prey to many evils arising from its peculiar position in reference to the stream of emigration, foreign and otherwise, now pouring through it, in the direction of the mines. We would respectfully ask your Excellency for some suitable instructions, which, it has been thought, might be so arranged as to remedy the most pressing difficulties — comprising a view of the duty of the county Judge elect, in reference to the *first* election of Justices of the peace & taking the *bonds* of the other county officers, a copy of the *revenue* and *Criminal* laws, & such suggestions as your Excellency may deem calculated to procure a speedy organization of this county under the authority of the State. We believe some such step will greatly promote the public interest, as well as tend to the better securing private rights, and beg leave to request a speedy answer from your Excellency.

We have the honor to be your obt. serts,

Agustin Olvera, County Judge elect  
Ignacio del Valle, Recorder  
Antonio F. Coronel, Assessor  
Manuel Garfias, Treasurer  
Benito D. Wilson, Clerk  
George T. Burrill, Sheriff  
Benjamin Hayes, County Attorney  
J. R. Conway, Surveyor

Pueblo de los Angeles  
April 20th, 1850.

The Governor evidently took prompt remedial action and provided the advice which was sought, for the processes of government began without any unusual delays or difficulties.

## *Courthouses of Los Angeles County*

Administration of county government became the responsibility of the Court of Sessions, a three-man, elective, legislative-judicial body, composed of the County Judge and two Associate Justices. The Court sat alternately in a dual capacity. It had judicial jurisdiction over misdemeanor matters punishable by fine of not more than \$500, or imprisonment of not more than three months or both. It acted also as the legislative body of the County for civil business. During 1850, the District Court was established and assumed from the Court of Sessions judicial jurisdiction over civil, criminal, and probate matters. In 1852, the California legislature created the system of county supervisors, giving them managerial jurisdiction over county business affairs. The District Court continued to operate until January, 1880, when its jurisdiction was absorbed by the Superior Court.

### THE PERIOD OF INTERIM COURTROOM SPACE — 1850-1861

**T**HE COURT OF SESSIONS held its first meeting on June 24, 1850, attended by most of the newly elected County officials. This marked the official beginning of county government in Los Angeles, although there had previously been a four-month period of organization during which the county had functioned somewhat unofficially. The location of the first meeting place is alluded to vaguely in the minutes: "The Hon. Judge of the County, Agustin Olvera, with the Hon. Associate Justices elect of the Court of Sessions of the County, met at the office of the County Clerk [Benjamin Davis Wilson] . . ." Outside evidence indicates that this was located in the Bella Union Hotel, on the east side of Main Street between Arcadia and Commercial streets.

It is interesting to note how the Court of Sessions selected the Bella Union as its quarters. On June 27, 1850, the Court ordered:

. . . that the Sheriff [George Thompson Burrill] make inquiries respecting a suitable place for holding, temporarily the different Courts of this County, and report accordingly to this Court on tomorrow at 9 o'clock a.m.<sup>10</sup>

Sheriff Burrill returned to the Court of Sessions on June 28 and asked for "more time." He was ordered by the Court to "procure a suitable room as soon as practicable."<sup>11</sup> Almost a month later, on July 22, Burrill presented his report, the details of which do not appear in the Minutes. The report (no longer extant) was ordered filed without further comment.<sup>12</sup> No further mention is made of the Sheriff's attempts to procure new quarters until an



entry in the Minutes of May 21, 1851, when Burrill was ordered to "... make arrangements at once to procure for the County suitable Rooms for a Courthouse and Clerk's Offices at the lowest possible price, and advise the County Judge of his proceedings therein."<sup>13</sup>

Then, on July 9, 1851, the question of suitable courtroom space was resolved with this entry:

Ordered. That the Sheriff is authorized to Rent the three [wooden-] floored Rooms now occupied as a Court House and Clerk's Office for the County and the Room now used as a Jury Room without [wooden] floors is to be used when wanted for a Jury, to have until the 15th of Nov. next [1851] or for one year at the option of the Court. At the rate of one hundred dollars per month payable in County Scrip."<sup>14</sup>

Further examination of the records discloses that the County paid \$500 rent for courtroom space on November 19, 1850, to Benjamin Davis Wilson, who was then County Clerk.<sup>15</sup> Figuring the rent at one hundred dollars per month; and taking into account the County's practice of not paying rent in advance, it may be concluded that this initial rental period covered five months commencing in June, 1850. This substantiates the theory that Wilson's quarters had been occupied by the Court from the County's establishment and now the Court was, in effect, approving an extension to the Wilson lease. Another entry on February 22, 1851, allowed Wilson \$500 rent for courtrooms from the first of November to the first of February. The years are not included in the records but it can be concluded that they were 1850 and 1851 respectively. Another entry on May 21, 1851, allowed an undisclosed amount to Wilson for rent of courtrooms up to May 1, 1851.<sup>16</sup> These entries made in the minutes of the Court of Sessions demonstrate that Benjamin D. Wilson was the only individual, other than Albert Packard, who was allowed rent for courtrooms or any other facility by the Court of Sessions. This would accord to him the singular distinction of being simultaneously the first County Clerk and the County's first landlord.

Benjamin Davis Wilson was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1811. After migrating from his birthplace, he spent several years in the southwest, trapping and exploring before arriving in Los Angeles with the Workman Party in 1841. In 1844 he formed a partnership with Albert Packard, a native of Rhode Island, and a merchant from San Francisco, to operate a mercantile store on the southeast corner of North Main and Commercial Streets.<sup>17</sup> Inside the store they kept a large wooden tub into which residents would deposit letters and pick up those addressed to them.<sup>18</sup> This crude pro-

## *Courthouses of Los Angeles County*

cedure was the forerunner of the post office system which was later established in Los Angeles.

Wilson and Packard were granted a license by the new County to "sell goods, wares, and merchandise for a period of six months, commencing July 1, 1850." The fee for this license was \$125.<sup>19</sup>

During 1844 Wilson married his first wife, Ramona Yorba, who died five years later in 1849. Christened affectionately "Don Benito" by the Californians, Wilson participated in several campaigns against both bandits and Indians in the vicinity of the San Gabriel Mission. His friends induced him to run for the office of County Clerk in the first elections of April 1, 1850. Don Benito agreed with the understanding that he not serve personally, but appoint Dr. Wilson W. Jones, M.D., his deputy to "run the office and receive all the emoluments."<sup>20</sup> Despite this unique arrangement, Don Benito was sufficiently popular with the voters. In 1851, while still County Clerk, he was elected to a single term as Mayor of the City of Los Angeles which was incorporated on April 4, 1850.

Don Benito continued to hold the office of County Clerk and Clerk of the Court of Sessions, if somewhat by proxy, until July 8, 1853, when he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Board of Supervisors. Dr. Wilson Jones apparently succeeded Don Benito as County Clerk and Clerk of the Board of Supervisors according to information found in the minutes of the Board of Supervisors, Book I, 1852 to 1855. Dr. Jones presumably continued in office until the elections of September 7, 1853, at which time John W. Shore was elected County Clerk, having received 401 votes to his opponent's (Samuel Arbuckle) 280 votes. Shore did not assume office until early in 1854.

In 1853 Don Benito was appointed an Indian Agent by President Millard Fillmore, and as such he was instrumental in establishing the first Indian reservation near Ft. Tejon.<sup>21</sup> Also during 1853 Don Benito married Margret S. Hereford, his second wife. They lived on his rancho, Lake Vineyard, near San Marino. His later years were interrupted when he was elected State Senator in 1855 and again in 1869 for a two-year term. He died in March, 1878, at the age of 67.

As a tribute to this distinguished civic leader, promoter, businessman, and rancher, Mount Wilson in the San Gabriel Mountains above Altadena bears his name. It is interesting to note that one of his daughters, Ruth Wilson, by his second marriage, married a young attorney, George S. Patton, in 1884. Their son, George S. Patton, Jr., gained fame as a general during the Second World War.

It is now necessary to move in retrospect to 1849. In Decem-



ber of that year Don Benito Wilson purchased the Bella Union Hotel from [Julian] Isaac Williams.<sup>22</sup> Williams, a merchant, built the single story adobe Bella Union in 1835 and operated it as a store. (The Title Insurance and Trust Company deed books place its location, when sold to Wilson, on the east side of North Main Street, bewteen Arcadia and Commercial streets, extending from house numbers 306 to 316 on North Main Street. The original Bella Union Hotel building occupied house number 314.)

During the Mexican War, the Mexican government seized the Bella Union for the official residence of Governor Pio Pico. When Commodore Robert F. Stockton occupied the city in 1846, it was used as the headquarters for Captain Archibald Gillespie and several companies of American troops. It is believed that Gillespie took refuge in this building during a skirmish with the Californians during the Revolt of 1846. The Americans restored the building to Williams in early 1849.

After purchasing the Bella Union (sometimes called the Bella Union Exchange or the American Exchange) in December, 1849, Wilson presumably operated it as a hotel for a short period. Although Wilson's autobiographical account does not mention this, Boyle Workman alludes to it in his reminiscences:

. . . the best hotel was the Bella Union, later renamed the St. Charles, which still stands across the street from the Federal Building. It was owned by Don Benito Wilson . . . It was originally of adobe, with dirt floors. The rooms averaged about 6 by 9 feet. In heavy rains the adobe would sometimes crumble and the occupants find themselves in a sea of mud.<sup>23</sup>

In August, 1850, Wilson deeded half interest in the Bella Union property to his business partner, Albert Packard.<sup>24</sup> Following this transaction the County began paying rent to the firm of Wilson and Packard. This is evidenced by two warrants found in the historical file in the office of the County Clerk. These warrants were made payable to Wilson and Packard even though the Court had approved payment only to Wilson as mentioned previously. One is dated November 19, 1850, the other, February 22, 1851. Both allowed the landlords \$500 rent for courtrooms.<sup>25</sup> An entry on August 23, 1851, in the Minutes of the Court of Sessions allowed Wilson and Packard another \$500 for rent of courtrooms to the first of August (1851).<sup>26</sup>

During December of 1851, the partnership of Wilson and Packard was dissolved. On December 9, 1851, Packard deeded his half interest in the Bella Union back to Wilson before moving to Santa Barbara to practice law.<sup>27</sup> He also served as Santa Barbara's City

*Courthouses of Los Angeles County*



— From the Society's collection

THE CLOKKTOWER COURTHOUSE

*This building was originally intended for use as a market house by its builder, John Temple. However, its upper stories became a courthouse in 1861 and it was so used until 1891 when the Red Sandstone Courthouse was occupied.*





## LOCATIONS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY COURTHOUSES AND

Sites numbered above are locations of the various buildings which have served as Los

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Home of Abel Stearns — used prior to 1850.</i> | 4. <i>Roché House (just west of the north west corner of the present location of First and Spring Streets)</i> |
| 2. <i>Bella Union Hotel</i>                          | 5. <i>Home of John G. Nichols</i>  |
| 3. <i>Home of Benjamin Hayes</i>                     |  |





— Aerial Photograph taken March, 1958, courtesy of the LOS ANGELES TIMES

## BUILDINGS IN WHICH COURTROOMS HAVE BEEN LOCATED

County Courthouses or furnished space for courtrooms. Numbers are in chronological order.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 6. Clocktower Courthouse                       | 9. Hall of Records                                      |
| 7. Los Angeles Abstract Title Company building | 10. Superior Court Annex                                |
| 8. Red Sandstone Courthouse                    | 11. New Los Angeles County Courthouse, occupied in 1959 |





— Photo courtesy Title Insurance and Trust Company

### LOS ANGELES COUNTY GROWTH SETS COURTHOUSE STANDARDS

*The Red Sandstone Courthouse (above) was considered adequate when it was first occupied in 1891, but it soon became "too small" and it was finally razed in 1936.*

*The present Courthouse (lower) was completed and occupied in 1959.*



— Photo Courtesy Office of the Los Angeles County Clerk

## *Courthouses of Los Angeles County*

Attorney. History takes little note of Packard after this dissolution except for a business transaction in 1853 when he purchased Santa Catalina Island for a paltry \$1,000 from José María Covarrubias and sold it several years later at a substantial profit.<sup>28</sup> Hubert H. Bancroft mentions that he was still residing in Santa Barbara in 1876.<sup>29</sup>

Don Benito Wilson apparently resumed operating the Bella Union as a hotel, hiring a proprietor to take charge. Wilson conveyed the property to Dr. Obed Macey.<sup>30</sup>

For some undisclosed reasons, the Court must have deemed the Bella Union unsuitable for use as a courthouse for on January 8, 1852, it ordered:

That the house now occupied by Benjamin Hayes, in the City of Los Angeles and which he holds under lease of Felipe Garcia until the 16th day of November, 1853, be rented of said Hayes by this Court, for a Court House during the balance of his said Term, commencing from this date and possession thereof being this day given by said Hayes to the County of Los Angeles, and that the sum of six hundred & fifty dollars be appropriated for the payment of the full Rent thereof for said term out of any money now on hand in the County Treasury . . .<sup>31</sup>

Benjamin Hayes, county attorney, had originally presented to the Court on June 27, 1850, a proposition to furnish the County with a courthouse for a limited time.<sup>32</sup> The Court ordered the proposal filed without recording the contents. Possibly Hayes had in mind the house the County was at that time preparing to lease.

On January 19, 1852, this terse entry appeared in the Minutes of the Court of Sessions: "Ordered that the Court House and Clerk's office be removed forthwith to the new house rented of Benjamin Hayes."<sup>33</sup> The house referred to was located on the west side of Main Street next to the southwest corner of Hayes Alley (later called Republic Street) at house number 425. Since Wilson was allowed \$166 rent by the Court for the period from December 1 to January 20, 1852, the Court apparently did not vacate the Bella Union until a day or so after the nineteenth of January.

Boyle Workman provides additional illuminating details concerning the Bella Union in his reminiscences:

From time to time the hotel was improved, and after a second story was added in 1851, the hotel was sold to Dr. Obed Macey. A big bell rang three times a day at meal-time . . . later Dr. Macey installed a steam whistle . . . it was one of the few places boasting shade trees in front. Governor Downey . . . [and] General John C. Fremont lived there, and Secretary Seward of Lincoln's Cabinet addressed a crowd from its balcony. It was also a center for weddings and many funerals began in front of its doors.<sup>34</sup>



The Bella Union persisted as a hotel, passing through many hands and undergoing various alterations. Some time during the latter eighties the original adobe structure was replaced by a three story brick building and the name changed to the St. Charles Hotel. In 1940 the St. Charles was razed to provide space for a parking lot, adjacent to which lot now stands the Main and Commercial Branch of the Security-First National Bank. A bronze plaque commemorating the Bella Union as the first hotel in Los Angeles was placed in 1958, on the north side of the bank, by the County Historical Landmarks Committee in co-operation with the Overland Mail Centennial Committee.

The Hayes home was used as an interim courthouse from January 20, 1852, to November 16, 1853, for a total rental of \$650. While occupying the home of Benjamin Hayes the County began negotiations for the first City-County municipal building, the Rocha (or Roche) House.<sup>35</sup>

The Roche House and property was located on the northwest corner of New High (now Spring Street) and Court Street (sometimes called Franklin Alley or Jail Street).<sup>36</sup> A record of the contract between the County, City, and John Temple, is found in the Minutes of the Board of Supervisors, dated August 9, 1853:

Ordered, that the following Contract for the purchase of a House to be used as a Court House and for County Offices for Los Angeles County be entered into between John Temple and the Board of Supervisors acting for said County . . . [John Temple was to relinquish] all of his right, title and Interest in said premises as vested in him by Conveyance executed in his favor by Antonio Jose and Jose Jorge Roche (Rocha) to the said Board of Supervisors for the use and benefit of said County provided that an order for the sum of three thousand and one hundred and sixty dollars . . . be given to [John Temple] . . .<sup>37</sup>

The Board of Supervisors ordered that the necessary repairs be made on the building to put it in good order for the County offices, and the sum of \$1,000 was appropriated for these renovations. The Supervisors further ordered that the City and County Jail be built on the Roche lot. This was to be a rather formidable single story brick building standing in the center of the fenced yard at the rear of the adobe Roche House.

The City of Los Angeles was vested with part ownership of the house and lot under the terms of this agreement:

Ordered, that the City of Los Angeles by its Mayor and Common Council may become owners to the extent of one-fourth interest in the Rocha House and lot and the said City shall use and occupy forever the rooms in the ground floor of the Jail authorized to be built by this Board . . . in consideration of all the above the City

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shall pay the [account] of the buildings of the Jail the sum of fifteen hundred dollars as soon as called upon . . .<sup>38</sup>

During these negotiations, Benjamin D. Wilson acted as Chairman pro tem of the Board of Supervisors. So, after occupying the Hayes home from January 20, 1852, to November 16, 1853, the courts moved to their new quarters in the former Roche house.

In 1854 the City approached the Board of Supervisors with a request to gain title to a strip of land adjoining the Courthouse, Jail, and City Hall on the Spring Street side, for the purpose of building a street. The Supervisors ordered the land ceded to the City on October 10, 1854. Arising from this action, the District Attorney reported to the Supervisors on January 6, 1855, that the title to the property was defective. The Supervisors ordered him to take the necessary legal steps to quiet the City and County's title to the property. His efforts were apparently successful, for no further discussion of the matter appears in the record.

The minutes of the Board of Supervisors begins discussing courtroom space once again on June 12, 1860, when representatives of the Common Council of the City approached the Supervisors with this proposition:

Gentlemen: The undersigned representatives of the Common Council of the City of Los Angeles, and forming a majority of the Finance Committee of said Council, respectfully show: that the present County buildings, formerly used as a Court house, and for County Offices, have been abandoned by the County on account of their being unsafe, etc; and that there exists a necessity for the Establishment of a City Station House. — We therefore propose to your Hon [.] body to relinquish to the County the use of the City Jail, if, in consideration therefor, the County will permit the use of the room formerly occupied by the County as a Courtroom, to be used for the desired purpose as a station house . . . the City reserving the right to use said City Jail for the purpose of Confining Criminals.<sup>39</sup>

Antonio F. Coronel, Member of the Board of Supervisors, moved that the City's proposal be granted, providing the County reserves the right to "annul the permission" and "re-enter upon and take possession of the room."<sup>40</sup>

From this information it may be concluded that the County had continued to occupy the Roche House from 1853 to early in March of 1860, at which time the County vacated the building in favor of a new location. The City then gained sole occupancy of the former Courthouse.

The County's new location was the building which John G. Nichols, formerly Mayor of Los Angeles in 1852 and again for a



portion of 1856, rented to the County for \$125 a month. An entry in the Minutes of the Board of Supervisors, made on August 8, 1860, with Abel Stearns presiding as chairman, refers to this by allowing Nichols:

. . . Seven hundred and fifty (\$750.00) for six months' rent of a building for the County Court House, payable out of the Cash Fund, on the 27th day of August 1860 — the time of the expiration of the lease for the first six months.<sup>41</sup>

This would mean that the Courts had been occupying the building since some time in February of the same year. The location of this building is not positively known, unless it was Nichols' two story brick home completed in 1854, on the west side of Main Street, just south of an alley which was later called Court Street. Again, on November 10, 1860, the Supervisors authorized Nichols \$375 for courthouse rent when it came due on November 27th of the same year.<sup>42</sup> Then on May 1, 1861, he was allowed another \$324 for rent accrued to that date.<sup>43</sup>

#### CLOCKTOWER COURTHOUSE — 1861-1891



EARLY IN 1859 JOHN TEMPLE, an enterprising merchant, (he had made one fortune in the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands and came to Los Angeles in 1827)<sup>44</sup> approached the Common Council of the City of Los Angeles with a proposition to construct a building which was destined to become a County Courthouse.

A year prior to this, while the Court still occupied interim quarters, the County made several attempts to secure a loan from the State to build a Courthouse. In the returns of the general election held the first day of September, 1858, there were 176 votes cast in favor of the loan and 237 opposed to it.<sup>45</sup>

Temple proposed to build a two-story combination Market House and City Hall at a cost of \$25,000 which was later increased to \$30,000. On February 21, 1859, the contract was approved and the Secretary of the Common Council was ordered to sign on behalf of the City.<sup>46</sup> The location of the Market House was bounded by Spring, Market, Main, and Court streets (the present City Hall stands over the site). The City was to pay rent for ten years at one and one-fourth per cent per month on the cost of building and lands, not to exceed \$30,000.

An ordinance establishing the Market House, and the method of renting the building, and the stalls and stands that surrounded the first floor was approved by the Common Council. Minimum rent for the twenty stalls ranged anywhere from \$15.00 to \$30.00

## *Courthouses of Los Angeles County*

each per month, depending upon size.<sup>47</sup> The building was completed and ready for occupancy in September, 1859; Boyle Workman records the opening night celebration:

[It] was one of the social events of the community. A grand ball was given in the spacious hall on the second floor, and everybody arrived in best bib and tucker to dance by the wavering light of tallow candles.<sup>48</sup>

Shortly after the building was opened, the Common Council deemed it necessary to elect a Marketmaster to take charge of affairs concerning the operation of the Market House and elected Charles Keating to this position. Also it was resolved that the Mayor would be authorized to rent the rooms on the second story in the City Hall whenever the occasion arose at such price as he might think proper.<sup>49</sup>

On February 6, 1860, the Common Council opened discussion on the matter of establishing another Market House in the northern part of the City. The matter was referred to a special committee appointed to draft an ordinance. After an interim report on February 20, the Council approved the ordinance February 27, 1860, and ordered it published. Whether this second Market Place was ever built cannot be determined from the official records. Conjecture has it that the plans were never consummated. The Council approved, on April 23, 1860, a recommendation by the Mayor, that the Marshal perform the duties of Marketmaster. The County Board of Supervisors began making overtures to the City regarding the rental of Temple's Market House for a County Courthouse on February 18, 1861.<sup>50</sup>

At the meeting of March 2, 1861, the Board of Supervisors discussed the expediency of leasing the first story of the City Hall and Market House. The Supervisors resolved to enter into a contract with the Mayor and Common Council to lease the first story for \$200 a month for the unexpired term of the lease between John Temple and the City. Certain alterations were ordered to be made on the first floor with specific reference to a vault in the office of the County Clerk. The Supervisors authorized Benjamin Davis Wilson (Don Benito) and J. D. Morris to enter into the contract with the City on behalf of the County.<sup>51</sup>

Apparently, at the time these negotiations were being conducted, the County was still leasing interim courtroom space from John Nichols for \$125 a month. The proposed lease with the city was not to take effect until the existing lease with Nichols expired.<sup>52</sup>

The County occupied the Market House on May 1, 1861, paying \$200 a month rent. The second floor was converted into courtrooms and Judges' chambers. Previously this floor had been used



as a theatre where bear baitings, cockfights, and an occasional Spanish circus and plays had delighted contemporary audiences.<sup>53</sup>

In his *Los Angeles from the Mountains to the Sea*, a study of the early development of Los Angeles, John Steven McGroarty, provides us with a contemporary description of the Clocktower Courthouse:

The old courthouse . . . housed all of the county officials on the ground floor. On the second floor were the courtrooms and judges' chambers. Honorable Ygnacio Sepulveda was district judge, and Honorable H. K. S. O'Melveny was County Judge . . .<sup>54</sup>

The four-faced clock tower perched atop its broad flat roof gave rise to the nickname, "Clocktower Courthouse," as well as serving as the community's time-piece for many years.

Of this building W. W. Robinson, California historian, has this to say in his forthcoming book, *Lawyers of Los Angeles*, scheduled for publication in late 1959 or early 1960:

All the county officials moved in after having occupied, since 1850, a variety of rented or loaned quarters, such as Abel Stearns' residence on Main Street, The Bella Union Hotel, Judge Hayes' leased Main Street house, sublet to the county in January of 1852, and a one-story adobe building at the northwest corner of Franklin Alley and Spring Street, formerly the Rocha House.

So history had repeated itself for a city which never stopped growing. The need for a newer and better courthouse had developed for a second time and again the lawyers were pleased they could concentrate most of their activities in one building.

J. M. Guinn relates a humorous anecdote concerning the method of calling attorneys to the courtroom:

"One custom quite common in early days went out of use about 30 years ago when the telephone came in. In the old court house which stood where the Bullard block now stands, the court room was small and uncomfortable. Clients, witnesses and attorneys waiting their turn would go down stairs and seat themselves in the shade of the building or in some of the offices near the court house. When some of these were needed in the court room the bailiff would poke his head out of a window and yell at the top of his voice the name of the party wanted; he always appended esquire to the party's name, and called it three times.

"One day in that stentorian voice of his that he had cultivated in driving an ox team across the plains he yelled John W. Horner, Esquire, John W. Horner, Esquire, John W. Horner, Esquire. Across the street came a prompt response. Gone round the corner a square, gone round the corner a square, gone round the corner a square."<sup>55</sup>

The County apparently was content to occupy only a portion of the building on a lease basis until mid-1867, when discussions were opened on possible purchase of the premises. This was un-

## *Courthouses of Los Angeles County*

doubtedly a necessity borne out by the rapidly rising population and the desire to concentrate as many county offices as possible under one roof. It was the Supervisors' intention to move into the Courthouse the County Clerk's office, the Recorder's office, and several others.<sup>56</sup>

On May 8, 1867, the Board of Supervisors ordered warrants payable to John S. Griffin for \$45,000 for the building and lot then occupied as a courthouse. John Temple had died in 1864, following which his widow conveyed the property to Griffin. The Supervisors, however, ordered the contract cancelled later on the same day,<sup>57</sup> and on May 18, reopened discussions. Previously three disinterested persons had been appointed by the Supervisors to appraise the value of the property; it was the opinion of these persons that the price was in excess of the value of the property. The Supervisors, therefore, recommended a purchase price of \$25,000, somewhat less than the previous commitment.

Once again the County delayed taking positive action on the contract and continued to lease the Clocktower Courthouse for another two years. Then in June, 1869, the Supervisors had the property revalued. This time it was appraised at \$20,000, which was \$5,000 less than the previous evaluation. This price was more agreeable with the Supervisors who took immediate steps on June 14 to complete the contract, the terms of which were the same as those in 1867. The purchase price of \$20,000 was to be paid in gold coin over a period of six years. The County was to make any necessary changes and alterations.<sup>58</sup>

### RED SANDSTONE COURTHOUSE — 1891-1934



AFTER OCCUPYING THE CLOCKTOWER COURTHOUSE for twenty-six years, a growing population once again forced the county courts to seek more commodious quarters. By 1887 the courts had expanded beyond the Clocktower Courthouse. On April 9, 1887, the Board of Supervisors approved the leasing of the southwest corner of the Jones Building located approximately at the northeast corner of the present Hall of Records, for a period not to exceed two years at \$100 a month. Later, in 1888, one courtroom in the Murrietta Building located at the northwest corner of the present Hall of Justice, was leased for \$150 a month.<sup>59</sup> Early in 1889 the Los Angeles Abstract and Title Insurance Company leased space for three court departments on the second and third floors of its building, formerly located in what is now a county-owned parking lot immediately south of the Hall of Records.<sup>60</sup>

A bond issue for \$200,000 had been approved by the voters in



November, 1886. Now plans were begun in earnest for a new courthouse. This building would be the first in the history of the County to be constructed exclusively for such a use.

The selected site was a small hill, called Poundcake Hill, bounded by Broadway (formerly Fort Street) on the west, Temple Street on the north, and New High Street (now Spring Street) on the south. The land, known as the Central School property, had been purchased in 1885 from the Los Angeles City Board of Education, the City of Los Angeles, George H. Smith, and George S. Patton, Sr., (he later was the son-in-law of Benjamin D. Wilson). However, before actual construction could begin on this third in the series of courthouses, it would be necessary to move the original Los Angeles High School which had occupied the top of the hill since 1873. The Board of Education transported the large, two-story, wooden structure intact a few blocks northwest to Fort Moore Hill where it stood until replaced by a brick building.

Formerly occupying the southwest corner of the Central School property was the first Episcopal church established in Los Angeles. This property had originally been donated to the First Protestant Society of Los Angeles by a group of men, among whom was Benjamin D. Wilson. The Society began construction of the brick building in 1859. After the walls and roof had been completed, a shortage of funds forced sale of the building and property in 1865, to the Episcopal Church, which in turn completed construction and named it St. Athanasius. Services were held there until Christmas Day, 1883, when a new church was completed on Olive Street. The building and property had been sold prior to this to the County, which moved in the County Assessor's office when the Church moved out.<sup>61</sup>

When the Poundcake Hill site was cleared and construction commenced on the Courthouse around 1886, St. Athanasius was left standing on the corner. The exact date of its final removal has not been substantiated by documented evidence. It is generally believed to have been sometime between completion of the Courthouse and 1900.

The Courthouse cornerstone was laid on April 26, 1888. The building was substantially completed by 1891, permitting the Courts to move in and open for business on the tenth of August. When completely finished during the following year, the building represented an outstanding example of Romanesque architecture. The rather distinctive red stones used in its exterior construction provided its nickname, the "Red Sandstone Courthouse."

The \$500,000 building contained three stories and an inside ele-

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vator. Later, an outside elevator was constructed in a niche on the east side of the building. This windowed elevator tower was one of the sightseeing attractions of the city. The only one of its kind in Los Angeles, it was called the "honeymoon tower" because marriage license applicants ascended in it to the marriage license office.<sup>62</sup>

In a sale held on its own steps on December 27, 1890, the old Clocktower Courthouse was transferred to J. A. Bullard for \$100,500, a sum more than five times greater than what the County had paid for it thirty years earlier. Bullard razed the old Courthouse and in its place constructed a new building known as the J. A. Bullard Block.

The prepossessing Red Sandstone Courthouse, built by relief labor at the height of a depression during the 'eighties, was originally designed so the front of the building faced east. Later, the population concentration shifted westward and the Broadway side became the front.

Several notorious trials were held in its courtrooms, bringing nation-wide publicity to Los Angeles County and its courthouse. One of the most notorious, held in 1920, involved J. P. Watson, known as "Bluebeard," who admitted killing seven women, six of whom he had married for their money. He died in San Quentin Prison in 1939. Another trial was that of Louise Peete, who murdered Charles Jacob Denton, June 2, 1920, and buried him under a house. She served a "life" term and was paroled, only to murder a benefactress, Mrs. Margaret Logan, on May 20, 1944. A year later she was executed in the gas chamber. Many public ceremonies and functions were conducted on the expansive lawns surrounding the building.

The Board of Supervisors decided to construct a county jail immediately adjacent to the Courthouse at the southwest corner and at the same level. It was to contain a large kitchen and consultation room and accommodate 150 prisoners. The cost was not to exceed \$50,000.<sup>63</sup> Photographs of the later 'eighties show the two-story jail, completed in 1887, tucked up against, and somewhat dwarfed by, the Courthouse.

Shortly after moving into the Courthouse it was apparent that overcrowding would soon become a problem. This resulted from an increase in the number of Superior Court departments brought on by a rising population. The crowded conditions in the Courthouse continued for some time until the 1920's, when the census figure reached 575,480 persons. In 1908 the Supervisors took action to construct the present Hall of Records, but even this added space alleviated the problem only temporarily.



THE HALL OF RECORDS — 1910-1959



DESIGNED TO RELIEVE THE CONGESTED condition in the Courthouse, the Hall of Records was constructed on a site immediately to the south of the Courthouse. It was first necessary to demolish the jail and rebuild it on the northeast corner of Temple and Buena Vista streets. A bridge connected the new jail with the former Hall of Justice adjacent to the north. The bridge was known as the "Bridge of Sighs" by the unfortunates who were shuttled across it in the custody of an officer. Both of these buildings were demolished to make way for the present Hall of Justice completed in 1925. Located in the Hall of Justice were all of the Superior Court Criminal Departments, the County Jail, Sheriff, District Attorney, various Municipal Court Divisions and other County offices.

Actual construction of the Hall of Records began on March 13, 1909, and cost the County approximately \$1,300,000. An article from the *Los Angeles Times* of February 10, 1910, describes the building which was then in progress:

The new building will accommodate the officials of the county and four Superior courts, leaving the Courthouse entirely to the use of the legal departments . . . The County Recorder will have almost all of the third floor and mezzanine. The Supervisors, Auditor and Treasurer will occupy the fourth story. The fifth floor will be used by the Tax Collector and Assessor.

The county's large law library will be accommodated on the sixth floor, as will also the offices of the Superintendent of Schools and the Surveyor. Courtrooms and witness rooms will be found on the seventh floor, while the mezzanine of the same floor will be given over to the Coroner, Game Warden, and Horticultural Commissioner. The eighth and ninth floors are as yet unassigned, as it is possible that both will be left unpartitioned for the future use of expanding departments . . .

Even though the above plan was not followed in its entirety when the building was occupied, the Hall of Records did accommodate the overflow from the Courthouse successfully for a short period. Then the combination of rising population and the necessity to increase the Superior Court departments, once again forced the Supervisors to take remedial action. In 1927, they approved the construction of a \$160,000 Superior Court Annex on the east side of Broadway, north of First Street, between the Thorpe Building at 132 North Broadway and the Hotel Medford to the south. The building contained sixteen courtrooms to accommodate the additional judges appointed to relieve the increasing workload of the

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Courts. Completed in about six months, the Annex was razed during the 'thirties to provide space for the present State Building.<sup>64</sup>

In 1929, the Supervisors and heads of the various County departments advocated the erection of still another Courthouse, but these plans never progressed beyond the discussion stage.<sup>65</sup> On March 10, 1930, both the elevators in the Red Sandstone Courthouse ceased to operate after forty years of service. They had been condemned ever since the city had refused to license them in 1925. The County Counsel ruled, however, that the city had no jurisdiction over the County and continued to operate them until they ceased to function. From that time on, it was necessary for the judges and attorneys to climb the stairs in the Courthouse or to use the elevators in the Hall of Records which had runways connecting it with the floors of the Courthouse.<sup>66</sup> Repairing the inoperative elevators was deemed inadvisable since the Supervisors anticipated tearing down the building in a few years.

Exactly three years to the day after the elevators ceased operating in 1930, a severe earthquake damaged the Red Sandstone Courthouse to the extent that it was declared unsafe for continued occupancy. On October 6, 1933, the Supervisors ordered it razed; actual demolition commenced July 16, 1935.

The two upper stories were the first to be removed, for the Supervisors had been informed that if the two top floors and bell tower were taken away, the remainder of the building could be occupied. It was planned that the two bottom floors be used to store documents and house the drafting division of the Mechanical Department.<sup>67</sup> Later, these remaining bottom floors were also razed and bits of red stone from the exterior finish were sold in 1936 for \$2.00 a cubic yard.<sup>68</sup> Complete dismantling of the Courthouse was accomplished late in 1936.

The Board of Supervisors approved an ordinance allowing the opening of the Courthouse cornerstone, which had been set in 1888. Early in the morning of the appointed day for the opening, May 12, 1936, Marshall Stimson, president of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, together with a workman, attempted to locate the cornerstone. Attorney Ray Howard, who was eight years old when the stone was set, recollected it was in the arch. Stimson used a trowel and patiently tapped each stone in the arch, listening intently for a distinctive hollow ring. All to no avail. After this, he decided that the proper stone was one in the northeast corner with the date 1888 chiselled in its face. A large crowd had gathered to view the ceremonies scheduled to begin about 10 a.m. Stimson and Joseph Mesmer, president of the *Pioneer Society*, presided jointly



over the opening. To Stimson's delight he found that he had selected the correct stone. A partial list of its contents included.

A bank book for the Public Schools of the City of Los Angeles, dated 1888.

A County letterhead.

Copy of *Los Angeles Times*, Thursday, April 26, 1888.

A brown 2c stamp.

A medical prescription by Dr. Kurtz.<sup>69</sup>

This cornerstone has been placed on the northeast lawn of the present Courthouse where the hollow section and the date inscription may be seen from the sidewalk.

The Board of Supervisors next turned to the problem of what to do with the land formerly occupied by the Courthouse. This area extended from Temple Street to the Hall of Records and was bounded on the east by Spring Street (formerly New High) and Broadway to the west. Several plans for its use were proposed. One, in June, 1936, called for the construction of an underground parking lot with a 225-car capacity and a park on the surface.<sup>70</sup> Another was simply the development of the area into a park. The latter proposal was followed and the part was named *Plaza de la Justicia*.

During the Second World War several single story bungalow-type structures were erected for the use of servicemen. At the close of the War, various departments of the Superior Court moved in and occupied these buildings.

The Board of Supervisors found itself without a courthouse following the removal of the Red Sandstone Courthouse, and on June 25, 1934, designated the Hall of Records the County Courthouse for legal purposes only.<sup>71</sup>

In May, 1939, a plan was devised whereby the Hall of Records would be moved to the corner of North Spring and Sunset Blvd. at an estimated cost of \$700,000. Another suggestion was to move it to the northwest corner of Temple and North Broadway, a site already proposed for the new Law Library and Courts Building. Neither of these plans reached fruition.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, various Superior Court departments occupied the City Hall tower, the Hall of Justice, the Brunswick Building, ten branch courts throughout the County, and the Hall of Records. Once again the County found itself in the familiar position of having to provide a courthouse large enough to house all of the courts for a community whose population was still rapidly increasing.

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### THE PRESENT COURTHOUSE — 1959



BOND ISSUE FOR NINETEEN MILLION DOLLARS to build a new courthouse failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority in 1946. Unable to finance the project through a bond issue, the Board of Supervisors began a far-sighted policy of placing over two million dollars a year in the County's budget for seven years, beginning in 1947. This money, totaling \$14,125,000 in 1953, was to be used to finance the construction of a courthouse; thus the building would be paid for by the time it was completed.

The Supervisors approved a courthouse site north of Temple Street between Hill Street and Grand Avenue. Site development was begun, houses were razed and the land leveled. When bids for construction were submitted in 1950, the lowest bid exceeded the estimate. The Supervisors were forced to abandon the project and the site was used for a parking lot instead.

In 1951, the Board of Supervisors approved another location on First Street between Hill and Grand. A Citizen's Courthouse Committee was appointed to draft plans for another courthouse. These plans were executed by the Associated Architects: Stanton and Stockwell; Paul R. Williams; Adrian Wilson; Austin, Field and Fry.

The low bid submitted by the Gust K. Newberg Company of \$19,647,000 was accepted by the Supervisors on August 2, 1955, and actual construction on the courthouse began on August 29 of the same year. The accumulated costs of the land, plan changes, and additions to the basic plan brought the cost to a total in excess of twenty-four million dollars.

The cornerstone was laid and the building dedicated on October 31, 1958, by the Honorable Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and a former Governor of California. Justice Warren had also presided at the ground breaking ceremonies three years earlier. The Superior Courts and related County departments began moving into the almost-completed building early in 1959. The first civil calendar was called by the Superior Court in the new building on January 5, 1959. The Municipal Civil Courts began moving in by the following April.

The immense, two-block long structure accommodates a total of 102 courtrooms: 69 Superior and 33 Municipal. The Civil, Domestic Relations, Court of Conciliation, and Probate departments of the Superior Court also vacated their quarters in the City Hall, Brunswick Building, Plaza de la Justicia, and Hall of Records, and moved to the new courthouse. The criminal, psychopathic, juvenile, and the ten branch courts remained where they were. A combined



total of more than one thousand judges, clerical workers, other court personnel and attachés work within its walls.

In order to accommodate the Courthouse it was necessary to lower both First Street and Grand Avenue, and to eliminate Olive Street from First to Temple. The building with its nine floors is so constructed that two additional floors and thirty more courtrooms may be added in the future. A link with the past is the eleven-foot-high clock hands and numerals on the east side of the upper portion of the building. This is one of the sets previously installed in the towers of the Clocktower and Red Sandstone courthouses.

So the largest and most recent courthouse in County history had become a reality. By mid-1959 all tenant departments, including the municipal courts, were moved in and operating, thereby enabling lawyers to conduct their business under one spacious roof.

The Courthouse, completed at a time when the County's population had grown to over five and one-half million persons, is a far cry from the humble beginnings in Don Benito Wilson's hotel over one hundred years before. That century has brought many changes in a County whose ever increasing growth of population may require the appearance of the old clock face on yet another, even larger Los Angeles County Courthouse.

#### NOTES

1. Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1951), p. 184.
2. According to Cleland, Stearns' own statements regarding his birth date are inconsistent. In 1841, while seeking permission to marry, he gave his age as forty which would place his birth in 1801. But when he appeared before a United States Land Commission he testified he was born in 1798, making him forty-three at the time. Generally, February 9, 1798, is accepted as his birth date. See *Ibid.*, p. 331, footnote 2, and p. 185.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-188, 311, and n. 3.
4. Boyle Workman, *The City That Grew* (Los Angeles: Southland Press, 1935), p. 29.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198.
6. Cleland, pp. 206, 207.  
Stearns' widow, Dona Arcadia, married Colonel Robert S. Baker, who razed *El Palacio* and erected the three-story Baker Block in its place, perhaps around 1875. From the beautiful Baker apartment on the third floor, Dona Arcadia continued her social activities for many years. (Workman, p. 30.)
7. Much of the following material used in covering the transition period from Mexican rule to American Civil government can be found in John Walton Caughey, *California* (Englewood Hills, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1957), Chapter 18.
8. Population estimate based on population figure for 1850. John Steven McGroarty, *History of Los Angeles County* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1923), I, 395. When the County Charter was adopted in 1913 all of these offices became appointive with the exception of Judge and Sheriff.
9. Los Angeles County Court of Sessions, Minutes, Book I, 1850, p. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 115. Reference to County Scrip is made in two advertisements appearing in the *Los Angeles Star*, June 19, 1852: "County Scrip bought at sixty cents on the dollar for Goods at cash prices. Alexander & Mellus [Merchants]" and,

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"The subscriber will purchase County Scrip, on application to him at Douglass & Sanford's Store. Approved Scrip only is desired. [signed] Benj. D. Wilson, Los Angeles, April 17, 1852." Scrip was used in lieu of cash by the County and could be refunded for cash. This practice was apparently resorted to because of the County's rather precarious financial condition.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
17. McGroarty, p. 377.
18. William A. Spaulding, *History and Reminiscences, Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Fennel, n.d.), I, p. 122.
19. Court of Sessions, Minutes, p. 39.
20. From an autobiographical account written a year before his death for Herbert Howe Bancroft (McGroarty, p. 400). Albert H. Clark also served as one of Don Benito's deputies during 1850 and possibly 1851.
21. An exchange of correspondence between Wilson and Lt. Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California, is found in the collection of Wilson Papers held by the Huntington Memorial Library.
22. The deed was recorded December 11, 1849, (Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles, Deed Book A, p. 817).
23. Workman, pp. 36-39.
24. The deed was recorded August 30, 1850, (Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles, Book 3, p. 37).
25. Los Angeles County Historical Document File, "Warrants," Documents OD2021H and OD2104H.
26. Court of Sessions, Minutes, p. 119.
27. Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles, Deed Book 1, p. 87.
28. Charles Hillinger, *The California Islands* (Los Angeles: Academy Publishers, 1958), p. 165.
29. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: History Company, 1886), IV, 765.
30. Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles, Deed Book 2, p. 42.
31. Court of Sessions, Minutes, p. 141.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
34. Workman, pp. 36-39.
35. The Roche family, to whom this property belonged, were Portuguese. The original spelling of the name was "Rocha," however, Spanish usage altered this to "Roche." In the early records the name appears as "Rocha."
36. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1930), p. 36.
37. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Minutes, Book 1, 1852-1855, pp. 79,80, August 9, 1853.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
39. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Minutes, Book 2, p. 345.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
43. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Minutes, Book 3, February 1861 — October 1867, p. 10.
44. Workman, p. 346.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
46. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Extraordinary Sessions, Minutes, February 21, 1859.
47. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1859.
48. Workman, p. 346.
49. Supervisors, Extraordinary Sessions, Minutes, October 3, 1859.
50. Supervisors, Minutes, Book 3, p. 6.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
52. *Ibid.*
53. John Steven McGroarty, *From the Mountains to the Sea* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1921.) I, p. 79.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
55. J. M. Guinn, "Pioneer Courts and Judges of California," *Historical Society of Southern California ANNUAL*, Vol. VIII, Part 3 (1911) p. 178.
56. Supervisors, Minutes, Book 3, pp. 410, 411.



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57. *Ibid.*, 407, 408.
58. Supervisors, Minutes, Book 4, p. 161.
59. Supervisors, Minutes, Book 10, p. 208.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 567, 581, 600.
61. *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1889), p. 293.
62. Workman, p. 250.
64. *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1927.
63. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Minutes, Book 11, p. 45.
65. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1929.
66. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1930.
67. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1935.
68. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1936.
69. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1936.
70. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1936.
71. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Minutes, Book 199, p. 425.
72. *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1939.

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# A Vintage Life

By Brian McGinty

**I**N THE SPRING OF 1857 an adventurous Hungarian colonel with the look of a dreamer in his eyes climbed to the top of a low hill north of San Francisco Bay. Before him, cool and green in the morning sun, lay California's peaceful Sonoma Valley — in the Indian tongue, "Valley of the Moon." Though small and geographically insignificant, the valley held him in fascination.

In its center was the town of Sonoma, a quaint *pueblo* dating back to California's Mexican days, with a tree-covered plaza and a red-tile-roofed Franciscan mission. Around the town were low, undulating hills dotted with deep-green clumps of California oak. It was an idyllic, peaceful place, pleasing to all the senses. The earth was rich and brown, the climate even and temperate, and the air over the valley was permeated by a sweet, ocean-fresh fragrance. The Colonel smiled as he looked over the panorama that morning. He knew his decision to settle here had been right. But exactly how right perhaps even he could not realize. Here in this secluded coastal valley, cut off from the frenzied mainstreams of life in Gold Rush California, this man was to revolutionize an ancient art and lay foundations for a great new industry. He was to breathe the Promethean spirit of life into a wine industry that would ultimately make the hillsides and valleys of California rival the vineyards of France in the quality and quantity of their production. He was to leave the mark of his unique personality on a young and impressionable state and earn for himself the grateful title: "Father of California Viticulture."

His name was Agoston Haraszthy.

Tall and lithe, with long wavy locks, a full black beard, and expressive eyes, Haraszthy commanded attention. His body movements were quick, sure; and when he spoke he communicated a strange excitement to his listeners. His enthusiasm was unbounded, and he nursed extravagant dreams of the future. Though a forty-niner, the riches of the placers offered him no appeal. His consuming passion was for growing things, and in this he had a genius.



Though his Sonoma venture was to be the most important of his career, it was eclipsed by no part of his fabulous, action-packed past. He had lived.

Born in 1812, at Futtak, a small town on the Danube in southern Hungary, Agoston Haraszthy was by blood an aristocratic noble, by inclination a liberal reformer. As a youth, he had served in the Royal Guard of the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand and earned the title of Colonel.<sup>1</sup> He was private secretary to the Viceroy of Hungary and owner of vast estates where he raised silk worms and grapes on a large scale. But in the late 1830's rumblings of popular discontent began to rise in Hungary, and Haraszthy, sympathetic to democratic ideals, joined in the cause of the fiery plotter for Magyar autonomy, Louis Kossuth. This aroused the imperial wrath, and in 1840 Haraszthy was forced to abandon his lands and flee to exile in the United States.

In the virgin territory of Wisconsin, he founded a settlement first called *Septaj*, Hungarian for Beautiful View, later Town Haraszthy, and finally Sauk City. He sold lots, built lumber mills, and operated a steamboat on the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers. He also planted the first hops in Wisconsin, helping to break ground for development of the state's later-famous beer industry.<sup>2</sup> When time allowed, he set out a few grape vines. But, to his bitter chagrin, the first harvest failed.

Moving through town in a high silk hat, carrying a cane, and giving orders to workmen in a half-dozen languages, Haraszthy impressed his fellow Wisconsin pioneers. They at once called him "Count," though he preferred the more democratic title of Colonel. His creed was the American creed. There was no nobility. All men were equal.

Haraszthy helped Sauk City keep in touch with world events, bringing in "at one time and another noted personages and public speakers, not usual in such out-of-the-way places." In 1842 he founded the Humanist Society, which made Sauk City known throughout Europe as a "Freethinkers' Heaven," and attracted such nationally known speakers as Carl Schurz, Franz Siegel, Karl Heinzen, and Robert Ingersoll. He also managed to make extensive tours through the United States and write impressions of his new homeland in a two-volume book. Published at Pest, Hungary, in 1844, Haraszthy's *Utazás Északamerikában* (Journey in North America) extolled the wonders of life in the United States.<sup>3</sup> An early example of European-American promotional literature, it induced many Hungarian immigrants to come to this country. A second edition of the book was issued in 1850.

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April of 1849 saw the Colonel as captain of a dusty train of prairie schooners, wending its hazardous way from Independence, Missouri, along the Santa Fé trail to San Diego, California. Never one to neglect opportunity, Haraszthy had responded to the first news of gold in the hills of California by selling his Wisconsin properties and gathering his family around him to make the tortuous continental crossing. He was not seeking gold, but opportunities of a different kind.

After nine months on the trail, Colonel Haraszthy reached San Diego in December of 1849. A hard-riding man who knew how to handle a gun, he was welcomed by the townspeople. In 1850 they elected him Sheriff of the county. He built the first jail, corraled such notable prisoners as the legendary Judge Roy Bean — later to become Texas' "Law West of the Pecos"<sup>4</sup> — and, off and on, skirmished with the local Indians. He also found time to putter with plants — fruit trees and a few vines — in San Diego and nearby at the Spanish mission of San Luis Rey. But he soon sensed that there was something bigger awaiting him, and, anxious to move on, he ran for the State Assembly in 1851 and was elected.

The Legislature met in a rickety capitol building in the town of Vallejo, just twenty miles north of San Francisco. When it was not in session, Haraszthy spent his time in San Francisco, seeming to revel in the infant Gold Rush city's unbridled exuberance. When his term in the assembly was over, he decided not to return to San Diego but to remain in the North and cast his fortune with the new and burgeoning city by the Golden Gate.

He bought two hundred acres of land near the old Mission Dolores, laying out a nursery and horticultural garden which he called "Las Flores." He soon bought land down the San Francisco peninsula, where he planted strawberries, grain, fruit trees, and thirty acres of Muscat and Zinfandel grapes. By 1854 he had started another business — this as melter and refiner in San Francisco's historic Montgomery Block. The same year, he was appointed by President Franklin Pierce to be Assayer of the new U.S. Branch Mint.<sup>5</sup>

Suddenly, in April of 1857, Haraszthy resigned his Mint position, and a U.S. Grand Jury indicted him for embezzlement. He was charged with having exceeded his legal minimum wastage by \$150,000. The scandalous case hit the San Francisco newspapers like a bolt of lightning. The Colonel was passionately attacked as an extravagant and unscrupulous experimenter and denounced as one of the major sinners in town. Free on bail, he claimed that the loss had been caused by the Mint's faulty refining machinery. All



through his administration, the furnaces had been going night and day, under forced draft, to refine the great quantities of gold pouring in from the Mother Lode. This had caused small particles to drift up the Mint's flues and settle on the surrounding rooftops — literally to "go up in smoke." The case dragged on four years while government investigators checked Haraszthy's story. Finally, in March of 1861, a jury rendered its decision, stating: "There is no evidence in this case to prove the slightest fraud in the defendant."<sup>6</sup>

Though to observers the outcome had been uncertain, Haraszthy himself never doubted the verdict. Believing that he would ultimately be cleared, he had already struck out anew and begun the greatest enterprise of his career — in California's Valley of the Moon.

When Agoston Haraszthy first came to the town of Sonoma, California winemaking was a primitive industry, depending almost entirely on the sparse cultivation of the blue-black Mission grape. More than eighty years before, sandaled Franciscan missionaries had planted the ruddy vines that bore this grape. But the vinicultural needs of the padres, limited to light dinner drinking and the sacrament of the Mass, were modest. Their production was correspondingly so. In Sonoma itself the only important vineyards were those of General Mariano Vallejo, Spanish grandee of the North Bay region. Though primitive, Vallejo's vineyards showed signs of a future which Haraszthy's shrewd eye was quick to catch.

On 560 acres in the low foothills of the Mayacama Mountains, the Hungarian colonel set out his first vines in the spring of 1857.<sup>7</sup> There were Reislings, Pinots, Tokays, and Zinfandels — cuttings that Haraszthy had brought to California from Europe a few years before. The vines of the Mission grape had almost always been planted on the banks of streams, so that their roots would have constant moisture, an ingredient believed essential to productive yields. Haraszthy's experience had taught him the falsity of this idea. Scorning water, he planted his vines on the sloping hillsides above Sonoma Valley, where only occasional rain would reach them. The roots must be dry!

As proof of his faith in the new vineyards, Haraszthy began the construction of huge stone cellars in 1858. Tunneling deep into the wooded hillsides, he cut massive shafts, one 240 feet in length. Over the shafts he built imposing limestone cellars, the first of their kind in California. Huge oak and redwood barrels, elaborate presses, and the latest bottling devices were brought in.

Anticipating the gilded age of the Bonanza "Nabobs," in which sumptuous palaces were to rise on San Francisco's Rincón and Nob

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Hills, Colonel Haraszthy selected a knoll in the midst of his rolling vineyards, and there built a sumptuous, white Pompeiian villa. With statues adorning its porticoes, graceful pillars surrounding its verandas, and formal gardens with spring-fed ponds, playing fountains, and miniature islands, it was a local showplace. From the mansion's entrance a view stretched forth encompassing rolling vine and pasture land and, in the far distance, the sparkling blue waters of San Francisco Bay. Haraszthy named his home and his vineyards *Buena Vista* — which, like his original name for Sauk City, *Septaj*, meant Beautiful View.

As more and more vines were brought into Sonoma, sent to the Colonel from correspondents in all parts of the world, Buena Vista's production grew by leaps and bounds. Soon the acreage had doubled, tripled, and quadrupled. In 1860, 70,000 vines were set out, and in 1861, 135,000.<sup>8</sup> Haraszthy sent cuttings to all parts of the state, encouraging enterprises similar to his own. He entered Buena Vista wines in the State Fair at Sacramento, winning the top awards. He traveled throughout the state, making addresses before meetings of the State Agricultural Society, county fairs, or informal groups of farmers. To anyone who would listen, he preached the gospel of California viticulture.

The state government took note of his work in 1861, when Governor John Downey appointed him special commissioner to report on European viticulture and winemaking.<sup>9</sup> He sailed from San Francisco on July 11. In Washington, he met with Secretary of State Seward, who expressed an interest in the dynamic Hungarian's ideas for developing a major wine industry on American soil. The Secretary gave Haraszthy a note that would insure him diplomatic privileges in Europe, and the Colonel set out for New York. There he arranged with Harpers to write a book on his travels and research.

For five months, he followed centuries-old trails to the great centers of European winemaking art — Alicante, Malaga, Bordeaux, Dijon, Asti, Heidelberg, and Coblenz. Though he paid all expenses himself, it was a "grand tour," and he enjoyed it immensely. He explored Old World methods quickly and thoroughly, writing a series of articles for the San Francisco newspaper, *Daily Alta California*, and gathering not less than three hundred thousand vine cuttings, including exotic varieties from Syria, Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, and Egypt. He footed the bills himself. Surely, he thought, a grateful state would repay him for his outlays!

Back in California, he delivered his report to the Legislature. "Various examinations," he said, "confirmed my previous conviction



that California is superior in all conditions of soil, climate, and other natural advantages to the most favored wine-producing districts of Europe . . . All this State wants to produce generous and noble wine is the varieties of grapes from which the most celebrated wines are made . . ."<sup>10</sup>

He offered his three hundred thousand cuttings to the state for distribution, asking in return the modest sum of \$12,000. "To the people of this State," he added prophetically, "they will in time be worth as many millions."<sup>11</sup> But Haraszthy was known as a Confederate sympathizer and the Civil War was then at the height of its fury. The politically minded Legislature thanked him for his trouble, but turned thumbs down on the vines. Undaunted by this rebuff, the Colonel assumed personal responsibility for their distribution. He traveled to obscure farms in secluded valleys throughout the state, in a coach with his vines lashed to its back. While his Chinese gardener gave demonstrations, the Colonel spoke glowingly of California's viticultural future and the advantages to be gained from planting his European varieties. A compelling orator, Haraszthy convinced those who heard him.

He was now at the peak of his career. His Buena Vista ranch was the leading vine center of the state, each year striding forward in the quantity of its acreage and the quality of its vintages. California had already jumped to the lead in wine production in the United States, a position it was to hold well into the 20th century and does not even now show signs of relinquishing. From a reported 58,055 gallons in 1850, the state's yield had swelled to around 3,000,000 gallons in less than twenty years,<sup>12</sup> and Haraszthy had set an exacting standard that was eventually to make the quality of California's wines rival the finest products of Europe. By his almost single-handed efforts, he had advanced the cause of California viticulture more than seventy years, and already earned the title by which future generations would remember him — "Father of California Viticulture."

But his expansion in the little town of Sonoma, the fulfillment of his dreams, had been heavily mortgaged. As his obligations grew more burdensome, the Bank of California, through its sometimes-scrupulous founder William Ralston, offered to relieve the Colonel. Finally, in 1863, he assented, and the Buena Vista Vini-cultural Society was formed. With Ralston as the behind-the-scenes power, Haraszthy was put on a salary as superintendent of the vineyards.

But working for others cramped his style. He met disaster trying to make champagne, could not seem to please Ralston and

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his cohorts. The Society was not paying dividends. Finally, in the fall of 1866, he left Buena Vista for good.

For a time the Colonel lived on the Sonoma vineyard belonging to his wife, Eleanora, and managed by his son, Attila. But here, too, misfortune seemed to dog him. A fire raged in the winery; a turn in the San Francisco stock market badly hurt his holdings; the cooperage was burned; a boiler exploded and to escape the scalding steam, Colonel Haraszthy leaped from a second-story window, badly twisting his ankle. He had long gambled with fate. Now his luck had seemed to run out.

But he was always the optimist. The spring of 1868 found him in Nicaragua. He had obtained a hundred thousand acres of the finest land in Central America and a monopoly from the Nicaraguan government for the distillation of spirits. His new domain was called *Hacienda San Antonio*.<sup>13</sup> Here he lived in the baronial style of a great plantation owner. He built a large distillery, planted sugar cane, and erected a saw mill. Fortune seemed to have smiled again.

Then, on a summer morning in 1869, he left his house to find a site for a new mill. His foot-steps led to the banks of a tree-lined stream on his property. Climbing one of the trees, Haraszthy attempted to cross the stream. A branch gave way beneath him, and he plunged headlong into the bubbling water below.

His death had been as spectacular as his life. The stream was alive with hungry alligators.<sup>14</sup>

In California, in Wisconsin, and in Hungary, his passing occasioned a few obscure newspaper notices, but it seemed that few people really cared. Haraszthy's usefulness to them had elapsed even before his death, and they had begun to concern themselves with other things.

Up and down the Golden State, wineries that bore the earmarks of big business were now being founded. Charles Krug and Cresta Blanca, Italian Swiss Colony and Paul Masson, Petri, Gallo, Roma, and the seraphic Christian Brothers of Napa, had joined the growing list of successful California vintners. Even the Colonel's son, Arpad, had opened cellars in San Francisco and had begun to sell his famous effervescence, *Eclipse* champagne. William Ralston, before he took his own life in the Comstock panic of 1875, continued to operate Haraszthy's Buena Vista vineyards at Sonoma. The state-wide industry was traveling along what seemed to be an unimpeded highway to wealth and prosperity. Then the tragedy struck.

The phylloxera, a minute aphid-like insect, had first been ob-



served in a greenhouse near London, where vines from the eastern United States had been received for grafting. On the Atlantic side of the Rockies, where the vines were native, the pest had caused only the mildest damage. But when it found its way onto the thin-skinned French and California vines in the early 1880's, it became a deadly marauder. With its eggs deposited in the upper parts of the root, the insects hatched and rose in a gauzy swarm of a million winged plunderers. From one vineyard they flew to a high altitude, spotted another field of succulent vines, and swooped down on it in a mood for deadly destruction.

Frantic vineyardists flooded their vines with water, trying to drive off the insects. They separated their vineyards by vast stretches of open land, hoping to discourage the pestilence from spreading. They imported ants that ate the insects by the thousands. But nothing seemed to bring relief. Vineyards throughout the state, including those of Haraszthy at Sonoma, were wiped out.

Finally, someone hit on the idea of grafting the delicate vines Haraszthy had originally imported onto thick-skinned American root stocks. The result was an increased hardness that withstood the onslaughts of the phylloxera and eventually helped to stamp it out. Some said, however, that the marauder had been conquered only at the expense of the wine's most delicate flavor.

Into the 20th century, the industry pushed on. The "noble experiment" of the 1920's was a not-so-noble set-back for California's vintners, but they made ends meet by filling orders for fresh grapes and raisins. With the repeal of prohibition in 1933, the industry swung back into high gear. In 1946 more than 177,000,000 gallons of wine were produced.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, interest in the early development of the industry grew. Frank H. Bartholomew, now president of United Press International, revived the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society, whose incorporation papers had been allowed to lapse after the earthquake of 1906. Reissuing Buena Vista wines in limited quantities, Bartholomew restored the hillside tunnels and limestone winery buildings above the Sonoma Valley. In 1946, Joseph Knowland, father of California's former United States Senator, came to Sonoma and dedicated a plaque in Haraszthy's honor. In behalf of the State Park Commission and the California Chamber of Commerce, Knowland officially named Haraszthy "Father of California Viticulture."<sup>16</sup>

But names and titles are hollow honors. They never impressed Haraszthy, and probably would not do so were he alive today. The hard realities of achievement were what he valued, even though he

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tempered them with a little high-flung dreaming. The achievements of the industry he founded have been considerable, and the successes of his followers have abundantly rewarded his efforts. His was a productive and rewarding "vintage life."

### NOTES

1. Paul Fredericksen. "The Authentic Haraszthy Story." Reprinted from *Wines and Vines* (June-October, 1947). p. 1.
2. American Guide Series. *Wisconsin*. New York: 1941. p. 493.
3. Emil Lengyel. *Americans From Hungary*. Philadelphia and New York: 1948. p. 33.
4. Benjamin Hayes. *Emigrant Notes*. MS. Bancroft Library. V, p. 512.
5. Idwal Jones. *Vines in the Sun*. New York: 1949. p. 89.
6. Fredericksen. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
9. Arpad Haraszthy. "Wine-Making in California." *Overland Monthly* (December, 1871) p. 494.
10. A[goston] Haraszthy. *Grape Culture, Wines, and Wine-Making*. New York: 1862. xv-xxii, under heading, "Report to the Legislature."
11. Fredericksen. *Op. cit.*, p. 9.
12. *Ibid.* p. 11.
13. Lengyel. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
14. Jones. *Op. cit.*, p. 99.
15. Figure courtesy Wine Institute, San Francisco.
16. "Colonel Agoston Haraszthy." *California-Magazine of the Pacific* (September, 1946) p. 16.



# Las Familias de California

## *(The Families of California)*

**Conducted by Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop**

### ***Genealogical Queries and Answers***

3. What is the correct spelling of the last name of Vicente de la Osa — does it have a single or double “s”? — J. S., Reseda.

*Answer:* The San Diego Mission baptismal record of the person in question gives the following data:

“Jose Vicente de los Reyes de la *Osa*, of Don Pablo de la Osa of Mexico City and Maria Rita Ruiz of Mission San Vicente was baptized Jan. 6, 1808. His madrina was Dona Maria Antonio Carrillo, wife of Don Jose de la Guerra y Noriega.”

His marriage record states:

“Vicente de la *Osa*, born at San Diego the son of Pablo de la Osa and Maria Rita Ruiz, was married by Father Bachelot to Maria Rita Guillen, (who was born at San Gabriel, the daughter of Miguel Antonio Guillen and Eulalia Perez) on June 19, 1832. Witnesses were Joseph Chapman and Tiburico Valdez.”

The Spanish word for female bear is “osa”; it is assumed that is the derivation of the surname. The San Gabriel Mission baptisms of the children gave the family name as “de la Osa.” The 1836 Padron of Los Angeles spells it “Osa” but the 1844 spells it with a double “s” — *Ossa*. Genealogically speaking, variations are not unusual but it takes imagination to recognize the phonetic spelling in the 1850 Federal Census of Los Angeles of “Vicente DeLausa.”

4. What was the exact death date of Senora Maria de Jesus Marron? She observed her 100th birthday on February 20, 1927, in Duarte and was the granddaughter of the aged Eulalia Perez de Guillen. — F.B.P., Los Angeles.

*Answer:* Mrs. Marron was buried at the San Gabriel Mission on August 29, 1927. She died August 26, 1927, in Duarte, California. She was first married to Fernando Urquidez at the Old Plaza Church in Los Angeles on January 17, 1850. There was a child of

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this union by the name of "José Alejo." She and Felipe Duarte were the parents of three girls and a boy. Senora Marron then married Juan Marron and had six children by this marriage. The San Gabriel Mission baptism record No. 7823 states that on December 20, 1832, Maria de Jesus Alvina Lopez was baptised. She was three days old and was the daughter of Tiburcio Lopez and Maria de Los Angeles Guillen. She lived to a ripe old age but did not reach her centenarian birthday.

5. I am interested in information concerning Richard Laughlin and Juan Domingo, who came to California in about 1828. They possessed vineyards between 1st and 8th streets in Los Angeles. The actual German name of Juan Domingo was "John Groningen." He married a Felix girl. — Mrs. P.H.W., South Pasadena.

*Answer:* The 1836 Padron of Los Angeles shows Richardo Laughlin, age 33, single, carpenter by trade and from the U.S.A. The 1844 Padron shows him as 43 years of age, married to Lugarda Rubio (age 31) and with six children. Richard Laughlin's marriage record states he was 38 years of age, born in Virginia, the son of Roger Laughlin and Helen Vesport and married on Nov. 27, 1840, Josepha Lugarda Rubio who was born in Los Angeles the daughter of Mateo Rubio and Maria Vicenta. Mr. Laughlin was buried on the 11th day of July, 1846, at Los Angeles. Thus entry 139-139 in the Los Angeles 1850 Federal Census lists Lugarda Laughlin alone, age 36, with seven children.

The marriage record of Juan Domingo gives us the following information:

Juan Domingo, age 40, born in Hamburg, the son of Anton and Maria Escosamano, was married on Jan. 30, 1839, to Maria Raimunda Feliz, who was born in Los Angeles, the daughter of Juan Feliz and Maria Ignacia Verdugo.

So naturally he appears as single in the 1836 Padron of Los Angeles. It also says he was 33 years of age and a carpenter. In the 1844 Padron, his age is 46, he is a laborer, born in Germany and is married to Raimunda Feliz (age 23) and has two children; Luisa and Juan Nepomuceno.



## *Genealogical Notes*

### **Padron (Census) of the Royal Presidio of San Francisco, 1790**

*Copied from the Eldridge translation in the Bancroft Library and Edited by  
MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP*

1. JOSE ARGUELLO, Lieutenant Commander, native of the City of Queretaro, 35 years; married to DONA IGNACIA MORAGA, 25; 5 children: one boy 8, one 6, another 1; one girl 2, another 1.
2. DON RAMON LASO DE LA VEGA, Ensign, from Durango, 34, single.
3. PEDRO AMADOR, Sergeant, Cocula, Guadalajara, 51; married to RAMONA NORIEGA, (2nd wife) 30; 7 children: one 12, another 10, another 5; one girl of 14, another 7, another 3, and another 3 months.
4. NICOLAS GALINDO, Corporal, of Santa Eulalia, Durango, 47; married to MARIA TERESA PINTO, 34; 6 children: one boy 15, one 13, another 11, another 9, another 7, another 4.
5. MARCOS CHABOYA, Corporal, from the City of Mexico, 34; married to MARIA TERESA BERNAL, 17; one child 4 months.
6. MIGUEL PACHECO, Corporal, from Frontereras, Sonora, 36; married to JUANA MARIA SANCHEZ, 14.
7. LUIS MARIA PERALTA, Corporal, of Tubac, 32; married to MARIA LORETA ALVISO, 19; 3 children: one boy 3, one girl 5, another 1.
8. JUSTO ALTAMIRANO, soldier, native of Aguage, Sonora, 45, widower.
9. IGNACIO LINARES, soldier, of San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sonora, 45; married to MARIA GERTRUDIS RIVAS, 38; eight children: one boy 15, another 7, another 6; one girl 9, one 8, another 5, another 4, and another 2.
10. IGNACIO SOTO, soldier, from Sinaloa, 41; married to MARIA BARBARA ESPINOSA, 30; 14 children: one boy 17, another 14, another 13, another 12, another 8, another 7, another 3, another 2, and another 1; one girl 10, another 9, another 6, another 5, and another 4.
11. JUAN BERNAL, soldier, from Rancho del Tule, Sonora, 53; married to MARIA JOSEFA DE SOTO, 40; one girl 8.
12. JOSE MARIA MARTINEZ, soldier, from Sonora, 35; married to MARIA GARCIA, 18.
13. SALVADOR HIGUERA, soldier, from Loreto, 38; married to URSULA LUGO, 30; 2 children: one boy 8, and one girl 6.
14. ALEJO MIRANDA, soldier, 38, from Potam, Sonora, married to MARIA DE LOS GUTIERREZ, 22 years; with 5 children: one boy of 9, another of 7, another of 3; one girl of 2, and another 9 months.
15. NICOLAS BERREYESA, soldier, native of Sinaloa, 29; married to MARIA GERTRUDIS PERALTA, 24; 5 children: one boy 8, another 4, another 1, a girl 9, another 7.
16. PEDRO PERALTA, soldier, native of Tubac, Sonora, 26; married to MARIA DEL CARMEN GRIJALVA, 19; 3 children: a boy of 4, a girl of 2, and a girl of 2 months.
17. IGNACIO PACHECO, soldier, native of Fronteras, 30; married to MARIA DOLORES CANTUA, 16, one boy of 1.

### *Las Familias de California*

18. FRANCISCO BERNAL, soldier, native of Sinaloa, 27; married to MARIA PETRONA GUTIERREZ, 25; one boy 8.

19. BARTOLO PACHECO, soldier, native of Terrenate, Sonora, 25; married to MARIA FRANCISCA SOTO, 18; with 2 girls, one 2 and the other 1.

20. APOLONIO BERNAL, soldier, 25, from Sinaloa, single.

21. JOAQUIN BERNAL, soldier, from Sinaloa, 28; married to MARIA JOSEFA SANCHEZ, 21, with 2 children: one girl 3 and another 2.

22. JOSE ACEVES, soldier, from the Valle de San Bartolo, Durango, 26, single.

23. MANUEL BORONDA, soldier, from Xerez, Guadalajara, 40; married to GERTRUDIS HIGUERA, 13.

24. FRANCISCO VALENCIA, soldier, native of Bayoreca, Sonora, 22, married to MARIA VICTORIA HIGUERA, 15.

25. JOSE A. SANCHEZ, soldier, from Guadalajara, 39; married to MARIA D. MORALES, 34, with 4 children: one boy of 17, one girl of 11, another 9, another 7.

26. JOSE ORTIZ, soldier, from Lagunilla, Guadalajara, 23, soltero.

27. JOSE AGUILA, soldier, from the town of Aguascalco, Guadalajara, 22, married to MARIA REMIGIA VASQUEZ, 14.

28. ALEJANDRO ARRIOLA, soldier, from the Valle de San Bartolo, Durango, 29, single.

29. JUAN JOSE HIGUERA, soldier, from Sinaloa, 20, single.

30. FRANCISCO FLORES, soldier, from the town of Santa Maria del Gro, Guadalajara, 20, single.

31. JOSE MARIA CASTILLO, soldier, from Aguacatlan, 19, single.

32. PABLO ACEVES, soldier, from Culican, 18, single.

33. IGNACIO HIGUERA, soldier, from Sinaloa, 33; married to MARIA MICHAELA BOJORQUEZ, 28, with 2 children: one boy of 11, and one girl of 9 (marginal note: *Maria Margarita*, daughter of Francisco Bernal).

34. RAMON LINARES, soldier, from San Miguel de Horcasitas, 19, single.

35. JOSE MIGUEL SAENZ, Sinaloa, 18, single.

36. CARLOS, servant in this Presidio, native of San Diego Mission, married, 60 years of age.

37. AGUSTIN, servant, native of San Vicente Mission, Baja California, 20, married.

38. NICOLAS, prisoner of this Presidio, native of San Gabriel, age 40.

39. GABRIEL PERALTA, retired corporal, from Terrenate, Sonora, 55; married to MARIA FRANCISCA VALENZUELA, native of Terrenate, age 51.

40. MANUEL BUHAN, retired soldier, from the city of Crichuela, 54, married to MARGARITA, 34, with 2 boys, 7 and 6.

41. RAMON BOJORQUEZ, retired soldier, from Sinaloa, 58; married to FRANCISCA ROMERO, 52, and one girl of 8 years.



## Book Reviews

Readers of this *Number* of *The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY are privileged to have at their fingertips an excellent introduction to the exciting story of how the Civil War came to the West. This introduction, quite naturally, is Leo P. Kibby's article, "*With Colonel Carleton and the California Column*," which appears on pages 337-344.

This informative article about the "California Volunteer Organization" which was formed to serve the Union during the Civil War, can well be a worthy beginning to further and more exciting literature on the subject of the Civil War in the West. And, for that detailed reading, the members of the Society need go no further afield than to the Arthur H. Clark Company in Glendale (where they may obtain copies of the fine new volume, *PRUDENT SOLDIER, A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby*) or to any local book store (to obtain a copy of *THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES*, a product of the University of Oklahoma Press).

Colonel Carleton and his California Column claim their rightful space in the pages of each of these books. But, in turn, each of the books, dealing with broader themes than Mr. Kibby has chosen, give the reader an opportunity to see that the war in the West was as vitally important as was the war along the Eastern Seaboard and in the Deep South.

*PRUDENT SOLDIER, A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby*, by Max L. Heyman, Jr. (*Volume No. III* in the *Frontier Military Series* — Published by The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, 1959.) Pp 418 (uncut) 6¼" x 9½"; *Preface*; *footnotes*; *illus.* — photos, campaign maps; *Bibliographical Note* and *Index*. Cloth, gold letter printing, \$11.00.

By necessity, biographies of men, be they great, prominent or, as in this case, merely *prudent*, must begin with the details of birth, family and early education. Therefore, the story of Edward Richard Sprigg Canby begins with his birth at Piatt's Landing, Kentucky, on November 9, 1817. With ease and facility the author carries his subject through the youthful turbulence which was incident to a "money" scandal concerning his father and on to his entrance as a cadet in the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. Then the author, through the travels and tours of duty that constituted the life span of this prudent soldier, takes the reader on grand tour of the U. S. A., its Territories and on into Mexico, before recording the events that led to the treacherous murder of General Canby. This

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occurred on the barren wastelands of northeastern California on April 11, 1873, at the hands of the notorious Captain Jack, renegade chief of the Modoc Indian Tribe.

The story of General Canby's life carries an intriguing interest. As a youthful second lieutenant serving on recruiting duty in Buffalo and later Detroit, Canby began the moulding of a prudent career. He added stature when he went to Florida to fight, capture and escort Seminole Indians to the Indian Territory that later became the State of Oklahoma. He learned to stand up under fire and direct men in battle during the Mexican War. In Monterey, California, during the days of the Gold Rush, he learned the art of establishing military policy and executing orders.

By nature, Canby was a conservative man; by training, a cautious soldier. He developed a pattern for prudence that stood him in good stead whether he was commanding troops in the field, as he did in Mexico, or directing their battles from afar, as he did at La Glorieta Pass in New Mexico during the Civil War. This same pattern of conduct saw him through difficult times, in awkward situations and under the physical stain of a painful gunshot wound.

Variety, too, played an important part in this soldier's exciting life. He was an Indian fighter before, between and after wars. He was an able administrator, having served in various posts in the Adjutant General's offices in Monterey, in New York City, in New Orleans, in Washington, D. C. He was a dependable general who could be called up for special duty at a moment's notice, either to quell the draft riots in New York City during the Civil War, or to go out far into the lava rock wastelands of Oregon and California as an unarmed "peace" negotiator to deal with a treacherous renegade Indian who was bent only upon the General's murder.

The author does not specifically state whether or not Presidents Lincoln and Johnson knew General Canby personally. But there is no doubt that each of these two Presidents knew him through voluminous personal correspondence. Both Presidents as well as Secretary of War Stanton came to know Canby as an ace trouble-shooter. Lincoln used him to quell the New York draft riots; he ordered him to return to the West and reorganize the entire war campaign west of the Mississippi River; he sent him to New Orleans where he was military governor during the occupation. Johnson, after he became President, carried on with trouble-shooter assignments to General Canby. He served, during reconstruction days, in Louisiana, Alabama, the Carolinas, Virginia and Texas. And then, having grown old in the Service, and having attained the seventh ranking position by grade in the Army, he requested a tour of duty in far-off



Oregon, where he could "rest" while he worked. It was on this tour of duty that he went, at the request of the President, on his "peace" mission which ended in his murder.

To tell all the highlights of this man's life in this short review is quite impossible. Author Heyman, who is a professor of History at Los Angeles Valley College, required more than 400 well-annotated pages to give the story of General Canby in its proper continuity and completeness, but the time spent in reading this volume, which in all its fine printing and mechanical quality is priced at only \$11.00, will be time well spent. The reader or student of Western history who wants to prepare himself historically for the coming centennial of the Civil War will do well to obtain and study this work and then, without too much hesitation or delay, he should proceed to the next detailed study, *THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES*, which, in itself, covers only a small portion of the service records of Generals Canby and Carleton; but which, in turn, directs the reader into the more concise history of the Civil War in the West, including its battles and campaigns against the Confederates and the Indians.

*THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES*, by Ray C. Colton. An account of the Civil War and its military campaigns and battles which were fought in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1959.) Pp. x, 230, 6" x 9"; *Foreword; footnotes; illus. — photos, maps; Bibliography; Index.* Cloth, two-color jacket, \$5.00.

Western harbors, mineral resources, and products of farms and fields were among the most coveted prizes of war materiél and finance which were reached for by both the North and the South when the battlelines for the Civil War were being drawn along the Eastern Seaboard in 1861. The Pacific Coast harbors of California; California and Colorado gold; Colorado, New Mexico and Nevada silver; the products of the farms and fields — all were great prizes of war; prizes that the Union held by right of occupation and prior claims, but prizes which were highly coveted by the Confederates. Texans, being both loyal to the Confederacy and closest to the prizes, took up the daring task to secure these Western Territories and portions of the State of California for the Confederacy.

A column of Texas Volunteers, more than 3,000 strong, marched boldly up the Rio Grande River Valley from El Paso into New Mexico. One small detachment from the column headed west where, eventually, it ran into disaster at the hands of the California Column, under Colonel Carleton, at Tucson. The main body of the Confederate Army of the West proceeded up the Rio Grande to Mesilla, New Mexico, where a Confederate Territory of Arizona (con-

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sisting of the territory encompassed in approximately the lower one-half of each of the present States of New Mexico and Arizona) was constituted. However, while this Confederate operation was taking place during the later months of 1861, the Union commander of the Military Department of New Mexico — a cautious soldier — Lieutenant Colonel Edward R. S. Canby had been prudently preparing for the coming battle that has become known as the “Gettysburg of the West.”

Colonel Canby, commanding a force of 2,466 regular army troops, had asked the governors of New Mexico and Colorado to raise immediately a total of thirteen regiments of infantry and cavalry. These, then, were the opposing forces building up for the decisive battle of La Glorieta Pass, twenty miles southeast of Santa Fé. The battle was fought in two separate but equally severe engagements on March 26 and 28, 1862.

This battle, the most massive and decisive regular army action of the Civil War in the West, and its preliminary battles and campaigns, becomes, under the masterful workmanship of Author Colton, as exciting an account of Western history as will be found between the covers of any recent book. And from the climatic battleground of La Glorieta, the author takes the reader on an excursion into new chapters of Western history that were written on the plains and in the mountains of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming and Arizona. Colonel Carleton, the Californian who gives us our “personal” tie-in to these exciting narratives, figures prominently in the work as does the renowned scout of Frémont’s earlier exploits, Colonel Christopher “Kit” Carson.

Some writers have been trying for many years to bring the Civil War “home” to the West. Author Colton, who is director of the Institute of Religion, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at the University Religious Conference, which operates in conjunction with the University of California at Los Angeles, has succeeded to a greater extent than most authors in achieving this goal. When this volume is properly placed immediately following Max L. Heyman’s *PRUDENT SOLDIER*, on any Westerner’s reading list, he can be justly proud of the role his forebears played to keep the West a part of our Union, inseparable and free. — *Lorrin L. Morrison.*

OCCURRENCES IN HISPANIC CALIFORNIA, by Angustias de la Guerra Ord, translated and edited by Francis Price and William H. Ellison. (Academy of Franciscan History, Washington, D. C., 1956). *Illus. End Papers*; photographs; pp. viii, 98. Cloth, \$5.00.

In the *Introduction*, Thomas Savage endorses the author as “a lady of intelligence” and as having “a good name for veracity.”



She was in a favorable position "to inform herself upon governmental affairs" during the twenty years prior to the transfer of California to the United States, for as the authors explain, her important years were spent "in her honored father's home in Santa Barbara," where she met "civil, military, and church officials." During her marriage from 1830 to 1853 to a prominent Californian, Manuel Jimeno Casarin, she made many significant social and political observations. Her mother was the daughter of Raimundo Carillo, the first of the famous Carillo family in California.

Mrs. Ord reports how the freedom accorded the Indians of the Missions by Sr. Echeandia seems to have resulted in "a relaxation of discipline" and in their failure "to obey the missionaries with their accustomed submission." The weaknesses of some of the governors and other officials sent from Mexico to rule in California are indicated. Interesting sidelights are thrown on the character of General Don José Figueroa. The reasons for the revolt of Californians against Mexico are highlighted by the recounting of specific "occurrences." The disorganization that resulted from the secularization of the missions is made plain. The author records how Los Angeles was given the titles of "City" and "Capital" in 1837. Many relatively unknown persons receive mention. Mrs. Ord's observations concerning numerous events occurring from Monterey to Los Angeles add appreciably to the understanding of California history. — *Emory S. Bogardus.*

L. J. ROSE OF SUNNY SLOPE, 1827-1899, by L. J. Rose, Jr. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1959.) *Illustrated, Indexed.* Pp. 235; cloth, \$5.00.

This account was written about 1931, presented in manuscript to the Huntington Library and now — almost thirty years later, and a few years following the death of the author — takes its place as a fresh volume among other published memoirs dealing with the same place and time, such as Harris Newmark's *Sixty Years in Southern California* and Horace Bell's *Reminiscences of a Ranger*. Eventually it may gain for the name of L. J. Rose a recognition approaching the ready mention accorded that of E. J. (Lucky) Baldwin whenever Southern California's ranch show-places of the late Nineteenth Century are called to mind. For Rose's enterprises were fabulous for their day, and it was he, in fact, who was to some extent responsible for Baldwin's acquiring the Rancho Santa Anita.

The account by his son rather sharply divides itself into two parts: first, a second-hand recounting of the stories he heard of his father's early life, and then the author's own reminiscences of the experiences which he and his father shared. Together the two sec-

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tions cover the elder Rose's lifespan, 1827-1899. Of the two, the autobiographical part is markedly superior in style, readability and credibility.

The elder Rose had a talent and drive which enabled him rather quickly to attain his twin ambitions of building a great winery and establishing a world-famous trotting horse stable in Southern California, and his became one of the truly lustrous names in Western viticulture and horse breeding. His original Sunny Slope Ranch, covering much of present-day Pasadena, sold in 1887 to an English syndicate for \$1,035,000. His "Rose's Sunny Slope Brandy" became a household term across the nation. His \$100,000 town house stood at Fourth and Grand on Los Angeles Bunker Hill from 1888 to 1937, when its tasteful woodwork wound up on a movie lot. His Rosemead Stock Farm covered the site of the modern City of Rosemead. And he and L. J. Rose, Jr., by their real estate and livestock activities there, left their imprint on Ventura County.

It all began in Illinois, where as a young immigrant from Munich, Leonard John Rose discovered that cheap apples could be floated down the Mississippi River to New Orleans and there be profitably bartered for horses and mules. By the time he was 30, married and the father of two girls, Rose had saved \$30,000. With it he carefully outfitted a wagon train for California and began to pioneer the 35th Parallel Route, but narrowly escaped with his family from Indian raids on the east bank of the Colorado. He returned almost penniless to Albuquerque, where he was reduced to waiting on tables. Moving on to Santa Fé, he was able by operating a hotel and gambling hall to build his fortune quickly back to \$14,000 and within two years be off again for California, this time under the protective wing of famous Edward F. Beale. A loan from a brother-in-law attorney of Cairo, Illinois, by the name of H. K. S. O'Melveny had aided his financial recovery. Rose later returned the favor by talking O'Melveny into moving to Los Angeles, where the family name today is prominent.

Although trimmed and edited at Huntington Library, the text of *L. J. Rose of Sunny Slope* has been allowed to retain its numerous slight errors in dates and other facts. These occur mostly in the early chapters of the book, and some thirty of the inaccuracies are corrected in W. W. Robinson's footnotes. Mr. Robinson wisely does not presume to challenge any of the author's statements regarding wines and trotting horses, two subjects in which the Roses indeed were expert. Any reader especially interested in either of these subjects will not want to miss this volume, a worthwhile contribution to the local annals of Southern California. — *Robert W. King.*



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THE OVERLAND DIARY OF JAMES A. PRITCHARD — *From Kentucky to California in 1849. With a Biography of Captain James A. Pritchard*, by Hugh Pritchard Williamson. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (Old West Publishing Company, Denver, 1959.) Pp. 221.

In the century and more since the first overland parties began to cross the great plains in an organized way, hundreds of trail diaries have made their appearance out of attics and basements. This is another such account. According to its editor, at least 132 diaries of travel to California, Oregon and Utah, by way of South Pass, are known to exist for the year 1849 alone. He presents these, alongside this diary, in a chronologically-arranged chart and with an alphabetical list.

Such diaries are still the best keys to an understanding of the vitality of life on the frontier. Yet there is great unevenness in these diaries. While multitudes of emigrants who crossed the plains kept journals and diaries, many simply wrote prosaic and routine accounts concerning the length of each day's journey, hardships endured enroute, and the travails of camp life for the uninitiated. Only an occasional diary illuminates unexpected aspects of life on the trail. Few diarists grasped the flavor of the wilderness through which they passed and the sense of history inherent in their movement toward the gold fields of California. Few had the ability to translate even dramatic personal experiences into accounts of lasting interest. Most travelers were too exhausted by the demands of the trail to make more than perfunctory daily entries in the leather-bound books into which they jotted down their accounts in brown ink. Once they reached their destination such folk found the task of adjustment to the frontier environment so absorbing that they usually abandoned their narratives.

It is, therefore, a special satisfaction when one discovers a travel account that lights up the landscape which it describes, both on the trail and, at least for a short time, after arrival. The diary of James Pritchard is, in part, such a manuscript. Hugh Pritchard Williamson, grand-nephew of this forty-niner, has described the writer of this diary in a *Preface*. Pritchard was Kentucky-born, and, at the age of 33, a county sheriff who had served in the Mexican War just before his departure for California. Escaping from a funereal-minded wife, he traveled by steamer down the Ohio River from Petersburg, Ohio, to St. Louis, Missouri. From there he started overland with newly-purchased mules, wagons, and other camp equipment, in the company of several acquaintances. Pritchard traveled by way of Independence, Missouri, Chimney Rock, Scotts Bluff, Fort Kearny, Independence Rock, Soda Springs, and the Humboldt Sink, crossing the Sierra Crest and reaching the end of his trail at

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Sacramento. Possibly 30,000 persons took this route during 1849 alone. The first part of his diary (from April 10 to May 12, 1849) was published in the *Missouri Historical Review* in 1924. It is the far western portion, however, which is of the greatest interest to a reviewer who is also about to publish an outstanding overland diary.

Like many who both preceded and followed Pritchard, he had no great success in the gold fields. And he did not stay in California very long. After working for a time as a stock herder, Pritchard dutifully returned to his lugubrious wife. Later he became a well-known planter in Missouri and was killed in action during the Civil War.

Despite the somewhat maudlin, overly-detailed familial essay by Pritchard's grandnephew, this book is edited with taste and discrimination. Its superior group of fresh maps, the already-mentioned statistical table, full notes, as well as other illustrative material, make the book a valuable addition to the history of the American West. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

**PRAIRIE SCHOONER LADY:** *The Journal of Harriett Sherrill Ward, 1853.* Edited with an *Introduction* and *Conclusion* by Ward G. DeWitt and Florence Stark De Witt. (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1959.) Pp. 180, cloth; \$5.75.

This account is the diary of a middle-aged housewife who undertook the immigrant trail with her husband and two children in 1853. Leaving Wisconsin, the family traveled by wagon to their new ranch near Susanville, California, plodding at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles a day along the Platte, over the Rockies, and down the Humboldt. One may wonder if another addition is needed to the numerous published letters, diaries, and travel accounts by early American arrivals in California. Some of these newcomers were, perhaps, all too aware of their historic roles; others have been helped into print by their descendents. But I have not come across many eye-witness accounts by women. And, while Mrs. Ward was no Dame Shirley, she was an intelligent, high-minded, and literate woman. Her great, great nephew and his wife are right in believing her journal of the trek worth publishing.

The Wards traveled with one group of wagons, and then another. Trips at such a slow pace are going to be monotonous, and the record of them is also likely to be monotonous. The first seventy pages of Mrs. Ward's daily record tend to be so. She understandably is concerned mainly with the state of the road and the weather, which is frequently wet. After the family reach Indian country and the mountains, interest picks up. But Mrs. Ward admits she does not have the ability of a Catlin, and her Indians are for the most part shadowy, usually lurking outside the firelight to steal horses. Her



descriptions of the natural scenery are mostly generalized, though marked by a conventionally romantic love of the picturesque. She writes as a wife and mother, close to the familiar faces that concern her, and consequently few of the people she speaks of come alive. Father is a dim figure, doing the work and watching at night. Her daughter, "Frank," emerges as an amusing, rather excitable young lady, a lover of music. She is often one of the group of young people who seem to wander about camp happily furnishing a choral background as Mrs. Ward records the events of the day. Occasionally an outside character becomes distinct. Major Clarke, a St. Louis lawyer, weighed 270 pounds and was traveling alone with his driver in an "easy carriage" drawn by four of the finest mules Mrs. Ward saw en route. Like many of the others, he was afflicted by illness, and Mrs. Ward gives us a clear picture of him writhing on the floor of his tent in pain. "Indeed," she wrote, "I think he suffers much more than a smaller person would under the circumstances."

This type of humor does much to pick up the journal. In fact, Mrs. Ward's account is readable primarily because it reflects her humorous yet warm and courageous nature throughout. Here is a personal record, written for her family, and one can hardly blame the author for failing to give posterity character sketches or geographical surveys. Her personality, including her ability quietly to adjust to almost any circumstance, emerges clearly between the lines. Take, for example, the following entry:

Today I have suffered more from sick headache than I have since we left home and you will imagine it must have been dreadful; but no, the pain was just as easy here as it could have been at home in my own comfortable bedroom, and friends just as ready to bestow their sympathy. I have often heard it so and indeed in all my intercourse with the world I have ever found the good to predominate over evil.

The editors have supplied an *Introduction* and a *Conclusion*, giving the experiences of the family before and after the trip. They are obviously enthusiastic in their research, and have annotated Mrs. Ward's comments to enable a modern reader to follow the route. The book includes photographs and several rough but adequate maps. — *Drew B. Palette.*

## *Activities of the Society*

### SEPTEMBER MEETING

Dr. Gustave O. Arlt presided at the Fall dinner meeting held September 16, 1959, at the U.C.L.A. Faculty Center. Los Angeles City Councilman Harold A. Henry, a native of Gold Hill, Nevada, and a descendant of the earliest Comstock pioneers, spoke on "The Comstock Lode and its Impact Upon the History of California."

Councilman Henry's talk highlighted the great silver discovery in 1859, the struggle for power between the bonanza kings and William Sharon who, with the help of William Ralston, established a branch of the Bank of California in Virginia City and eventually acquired the mills which processed the ore, the timber and lumber resources. Sharon then proceeded to build the historic Virginia & Truckee Railroad. Money from the Comstock provided capital for San Francisco commerce as well as two great developments in Southern California: the Santa Anita and Baldwin Hills properties of E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin, as well as the City of Santa Monica which was developed by John P. Jones.

Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Tolford of Van Nuys had a most interesting display of early pictures of Virginia City and many mementos of the early days of the Comstock.

Approximately 100 members of the Society and guest attended the meeting.

### OCTOBER MEETING

The well-known and beloved Dr. Charles LeRoy Lowman, who began his practice of orthopaedics in Los Angeles in 1910, spoke to the Society on the history of orthopaedic surgery and the Orthopaedic Hospital. Dr. Lowman founded the Orthopaedic Hospital in 1913 and the Orthopaedic Foundation in 1917, and for half a century has been actively engaged as an orthopaedic surgeon, lecturer and writer. Members and guests were privileged to see Dr. Lowman's slides, several dating back to the Fourth Century, B. C., show-



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ing the work that had been done in orthopaedic surgery, the apparatus and surgical dressings used.

Pouring at the urns following the meeting were Mrs. Charles LeRoy Lowman and Mrs. Alan N. Ducommun.

### NOVEMBER MEETING

Professor Donald C. Cutter of the University of Southern California History Department, addressed the Society on the little-known subject of the visit of Alejandro Malaspina to California in 1791. This scientific expedition left an interesting account and illustrated it with a number of pictorial drawings of the local scene, copies of which were displayed. The story will be fully told in Dr. Cutter's forthcoming book, "*Malaspina in California*."

More than one hundred members and guests attended the meeting after which the Hostesses Committee, chairmanned by Mesdames E. F. Ducommun and Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell, served refreshments. Presiding at the urns were Mrs. Donald Manuel and Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop.

### DECEMBER MEETING

President Gustave O. Arlt, after a few brief announcements, asked Mrs. Vera Dunning to comment on the interesting items she had brought to this special meeting. Among the items displayed were a family bible printed in 1673; a bible printed in 1692, by order of her family, for Peter the Great; a small triptych given to her father by the Military school during the war; part of her collection of reproductions of a well-known Russian painter depicting the time and style of pre-Peter the Great.

Chairman Frank B. Putnam introduced the guest speaker, The Reverend Father Sergei Glasgolev of St. Innocent Eastern Orthodox Church of Encino, who told of the Russian establishment at Fort Ross, under the flags of Alexander I, Nicholas I and Alexander II, from a theologian's viewpoint. The church choir under the direction of Edward Sutyak gave an inspiring performance of Christmas carols.

Coffee was served from two samovars loaned for the occasion of this special Christmas meeting by Mrs. John C. Wolfskill and Mrs. Vera Dunning. Serving at the the samovars were Miss Ruth I. Mahood and Mrs. Dunning.

## Gifts to the Society

*In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.*

*The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.*

*Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.*



MRS. ERNEST J. YORBA — Two mat prints in sepia; one of Bernardo J. Higuera, son of Francisco Higuera (Rancho Rincon de los Bueyes) and the other of his wife, Concepcion Rocha de Higuera.

JUSTIN G. TURNER — Two copies of the Abraham Lincoln Sesqui-centennial 1959 Exhibit Catalog. A display of Lincolniana from the Justin G. Turner collection at London University Library.

MRS. LORRIN L. MORRISON — A set of ten directories of the Board of Directors and the Staff Executives of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce from 1948 through 1957.

CAROLINE DUNN, *Librarian of the Indiana Historical Society* — A folder of miniatures of Catalina Island, 1905.

DAVID H. WALLACE, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania — Four colored scenes of Southern California.

MISS MARIE ALDEN HOPKINS — Back Numbers of the *Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, 1952 through 1957.



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As of December 31, 1959

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